ANNUAL CONFERENCE NUMBER

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Two MAY, 1911 Number One

Edited by W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, with the co-operation of Oswald Garrison Villard, J. Max Barber, Charles Edward Russell, Kelly Miller, W. S. Braithwaite and M. D. Maclean.

The Right Reverend James Theodore Holly, First Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Hayti; Born 1829; Ordained Priest 1850; Consecrated Bishop 1874, in Grace Church, New York; Died March 22, 1911

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THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION for the ADVANCEMENT of COLORED PEOPLE

OBJECT.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is an organization composed of men and women of all races and classes who believe that the present widespread increase of prejudice against colored races and particularly the denial of rights and opportunities to ten million Americans of Negro descent is not only unjust and a menace to our free institutions, but also is a direct hindrance to World Peace and the realization of Human Brotherhood.

METHODS.—The encouragement of education and efforts for social uplift; the dissemination of literature; the holding of mass meetings; the maintenance of a lecture bureau; the encouragement of vigilance committees; the investigation of complaints; the maintenance of a Bureau of Information; the publication of THE CRISIS; the collection of facts and publication of the truth.

ORGANIZATION.—All interested persons are urged to join our organization —associate membership costs $1, and contributing and sustaining members pay from $2 to $25 a year.

FUNDS.—We need $10,000 a year for running expenses of this work and particularly urge the necessity of gifts to help on our objects.

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THE CRISIS

A Record of the Darker Races

Contents for May, 1911

PAGE

Along the Color Line 5
Men of the Month:
- Lord Weardale 10
- Dr. Charles E. Bentley 10
- John S. Trower 10
- George W. A. Scott 11

Opinion 12
Women's Clubs. *By A. W. Hunton* 17
Editorial 19
Officers of the Eighth Illinois National Guard 22
The N. A. A. C. P. 24
- Report of the Chairman of the Executive Committee 25
- Violations of Property Rights 28

Little Letters from the South 32
The Fight for Liberty in St. Lucia. *By Arthur A. Schomburg* 33
My Little Love Salome: Poem. *By L. A. Proctor* 34
The Manufacture of Prejudice 35
What to Read 37

Actual Circulation of THE CRISIS, 10,000 Copies

Agents wanted who can furnish reliable references.

Entered as second-class matter in the post office at New York City.

¶ The June number of THE CRISIS will be a special *Education* number for Teachers. It will contain contributions by G. S. Dickerman, H. O. Tanner, W. S. Braithwaite. An important article on Harriet Beecher Stowe, by her son, C. E. Stowe.

¶ Our circulation is growing rapidly, but we must have 25,000. Every reader of THE CRISIS can by personal solicitation help us to this goal. Probably no magazine in America has a more interesting set of readers—we have on our books judges, financiers, philanthropists, college presidents and scholars, besides the best educated colored people of the country.

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"Personally I have been so well pleased with your publication that I have not been able to keep a single copy, but have mailed them to friends all over the country. I shall be glad to continue to show your publication wherever I go. The pleasure that I can give my friends in this way is sufficient reward in itself."

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New York, N. Y.

"I have just had the pleasure of perusing the April number of your splendid magazine and I promptly enclose the price of a subscription. Your work is along the right line and will prove a powerful stimulus not only to the better aspirations of your own people but to the Americanism of all true Americans."

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"I simply want to say that your April CRISIS is all in all the best document of its length on the color question that I have ever read."

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"I have read each successive number of your magazine with increasing satisfaction, and my belief is confirmed that the publication is greatly needed and has possibilities of untold usefulness. The April number came yesterday, with its strikingly beautiful cover page, an artistic advance, I think, on anything that I have ever seen in this particular field heretofore. I am glad to know that your outlook is encouraging. It certainly ought to be."

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Mention THE CRISIS.

Along the Color Line

POLITICS.

The United States Senate has not yet taken up the matter of confirming Mr. William H. Lewis as Assistant Attorney-General and Mr. J. C. Napier as Register of the Treasury. While the chances are that both of these nominees will be confirmed, there is rumor of considerable opposition to Mr. Lewis.

¶ Senator Lodge has introduced a bill providing that $200,000 of the money of the Freedmen's Bureau held by the Treasury Department shall go to the establishment of a National memorial home for aged colored people and working girls.

¶ A delegation of colored people have been urging on Speaker Champ Clark the advisability of a bill reimbursing the Freedmen's Bank depositors.

¶ The Bourbon wing of the Democracy has begun operations by introducing two bills into Congress: one by Representative Hardwick of Georgia, providing for the repeal of the Fourteenth Amendment, and the other by Representative Clark of Florida, to prohibit the intermarriage of the races in the District of Columbia. Neither bill has any chance of passage.

¶ Hon. Walter Cohen, Register of the New Orleans Land Office, and the last Negro officeholder of importance in Louisiana, was relieved of his office recently by the merging of various land offices. A white Republican was placed in charge of the consolidated office. Mr. Cohen has issued a statement bitterly attacking Mr. Taft's administration for its attitude toward colored people.

¶ A meeting of colored Democrats has been called to assemble in Indianapolis May 17th.

¶ The colored people of New York are still busy endeavoring to secure a colored regiment in the State militia and representatives on the police force in New York City. Recently a delegation called upon Mayor Gaynor to urge the appointment of Rufus L. Perry, a colored lawyer of Brooklyn, as police magistrate. Mr. Gaynor promised to consider the matter.

¶ The drawing of the name of a colored man on the petit jury of Clayton, Mo., has caused some comment.

¶ A joint resolution providing a constitutional amendment embodying the grandfather clause has been passed by one house of the Arkansas legislature and will probably become a law. Judge Hardage in his speech for the resolution frankly admitted that there was no use "beating around the bush" and that the measure was designed to eliminate the colored vote.

¶ Representative Green, a colored member of the General Assembly of Illinois, has introduced a bill to amend the State Civil Rights bill. This bill copies the Ohio provision by giving the Governor the right to remove from office any sheriff or other guardian of the peace who fails to do all in his power to suppress mob violence.

THE GHETTO.

Mayor Mahoot, of Baltimore, has signed the second segregation ordinance. This ordinance not only seeks to separate white and colored residential districts, but also churches and places of amusement. The colored people are preparing to contest it in the courts. Meantime the colored "invasion" of residential districts, as the whites call it, or the colored demand for decent housing, as the Negroes call it, goes steadily on in Baltimore. The last of the white families are moving out of a block on Carlton Avenue and a colored man on North Mount Street has leased a house among white neighbors. The neighbors promptly bombarded the house with bricks, but the colored people are determined to stay. On North Stricker Street the first Negroes to occupy a house had the house badly damaged and moved out.

¶ In New York City St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal Church, the oldest colored church congregation in the city, has recently finished the transfer of its property holdings from downtown to 134th and 135th Streets. They have about twenty six-story flat buildings on West 135th Street and dispossessed 220 white families. Colored tenants are moving in. The white Taxpayers' Association tried to prevent the transfer of the property by court procedure but were worsted. They then appealed to Bishop Greer but he refused to help them. Many of the white storekeepers in the block have been notified of the increase in rent and threaten to move. It is said that this is just what certain colored storekeepers desire. The price paid for the 20 flats is said to be $620,000. Part of this is represented in mortgages

and there is some attempt to embarrass the colored people in obtaining credit at the banks. There seems to be little chance, however, that this move will be successful.

¶ Kalamazoo, Mich., is stirred up by the purchase of a house in a fashionable section by a colored porter, and Logansport, Ind., is trying to induce a colored man to sell his recently acquired property.

¶ The Southern press is industriously spreading the information that Canada is barring Negro immigrants. This is not true, as 90 families of 500 members have entered in one week. The immigration is, however, raising some disquietude in Canada. The question came up in the Dominion House of Commons recently when William Thoburn, a conservative member, complained that the immigration from the Southern States was being conducted on a wholesale scale and the hundreds now coming in would increase to thousands. Mr. Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, said that the question had only lately arisen, and continued: "I do not think it would be wise to adopt a drastic policy on account of a natural incident of immigration; the situation will be carefully watched."

¶ The colored people of Tacoma, Wash., have been endeavoring to secure a city ordinance compelling public resorts and places of amusement to cease discriminating against them. Attorney Aldrich was especially active in urging the matter, but nothing has been done as yet.

¶ Attendant Clair and his wife have left the employ of the State insane asylum at Portland, Ore., because Superintendent Steiner refused to dismiss certain colored employees. The Superintendent said: "These colored people have proved efficient in every respect and I intend to retain them until such time when I believe they are not efficient."

¶ Certain colored people have brought suit against a Waterbury, Conn., theatre for not allowing them to purchase tickets in the orchestra.

¶ Considerable "embarrassment" has threatened the officers of the various regiments in camp at San Antonio, Tex., upon the arrival of the Illinois contingent of the National Guard officers. One of these officers, Colonel Marshall, is a colored man. According to the orders of the War Department, every volunteer officer who comes to participate in the maneuvers shall be quartered with a regular army officer of corresponding rank. Many of the officers are Southerners. When Colonel Marshall arrived he was attached to Colonel Thomas H. Davis of the 18th Infantry, who already had Colonel Gardner of North Carolina as his guest.

¶ Attempt has been made in New York to raise some discussion over the suffrage ball which Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont is giving May 6th at Terrace Garden. Invitations were sent to the members of the association and some of these are colored.

¶ In our last number, under "The Burden," we gave an extract from an article written by a Cornell student and charging that two colored girls had been "advised" not to apply for rooms at the Sage dormitory. The girls applied a second time and the following letter of President Schurman to Mrs. Martin, adviser at Sage Cottage, explains what happened.

April 10, 1911.

MY DEAR MRS. MARTIN:

I received on Thursday, the 6th inst., your note with the enclosed two petitions on the subject of the admission of colored women to Sage Cottage. One of these petitions, signed by 269 women students, begged that we deny the application for admission which you have recently received from two colored students; the other petition, signed by 36 women students, objected to this discrimination on color lines.

* * * * *

I want, in the first place, to express my deep regret that some time before this matter had been brought to our attention it had been communicated to the newspapers, apparently with misleading statements, which have given rise to a good deal of erroneous comment.

The truth of the matter is very simple: Colored students have resided in Sage Cottage in the past, and I see no good reason why that policy should be changed. At Cornell all university doors must remain open to all students irrespective of race or color or creed or social standing or pecuniary condition.

The last colored woman student who resided in Sage Cottage writes me that she was politely and considerately treated by the other women students, and that these years of residence in Sage Cottage were the happiest in her life. Though I am compelled to deny the petition of the 269 women students, I have not a particle of doubt that they will make the lives of the two incoming colored students equally happy and memorable.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN.

Mrs. Gertrude S. Martin,
Adviser of Women,
Sage Cottage.

¶ The charge is made that the police of Detroit, Mich., are attempting to drive colored men from business who have

white patrons and in general to exercise an unwarranted supervision over colored and white people who happen to meet in any way.

¶ In Indianapolis an attempt is being made to separate the white and colored divorce cases.

¶ Much difficulty arises in Washington and other places on account of the high degree of efficiency shown by colored applicants who take the civil service examination. Many chiefs of divisions who do not look with favor on the appointment of colored clerks have ignored civil service rules completely. It is said that in the future all attempts at discrimination are to be placed before the President and his Cabinet.

¶ A split in the Mississippi Letter Carriers' Association has developed on account of the color question. In Meridian, Miss., all the carriers are white; in Jackson and other cities all the carriers are colored.

¶ Dr. T. E. Bailey, of Kansas City, Mo., a reputable colored physician with wide and practical knowledge of medicine, has won appointment as physician at the workhouse through a competitive examination. Effort is being made to have him ousted on account of color. Dr. W. S. Wheeler, the health commissioner, says: "Dr. Bailey is a graduate from a Chicago school and has taken a course at Kansas University. He is highly recommended by all who know him and it would be brutal to remove him now on account of racial feeling, even if such a thing were possible."

¶ In Baltimore William J. O'Connor has been charged with breaking the Maryland law by marrying a white girl. He gave no evidence of colored blood but his mother's appearance did. He was therefore handcuffed and sent to jail.

CRIME.

In the case of the assault on Mr. Booker T. Washington, principal of Tuskegee Institute, the latest developments are as follows: Daniel C. Smith, auditor of Tuskegee, has said that he had no appointment with Mr. Washington. Mr. Washington's private secretary says that the mistake was his. Several Southern towns are reported to have raised money for Ulrich's defense and one lynching has taken place on account of an argument between a white man and a colored man. The colored people have held a mass meeting in New York to express confidence in Mr. Washington, and a delegation has thanked President Taft for his telegram. The Associated Press reported that Mr. Washington thought that Ulrich's attack upon him was justifiable under the circumstances. Mr. Washington denied this report and stated his determination to press the charge. The case came up April 3, but Mr. Washington was not present and it was postponed indefinitely.

¶ Several lynchings have taken place in Georgia and Alabama.

¶ The colored women of Alabama have for some years been supporting a reformatory for colored children. They are now asking the State to help them in the work and a bill for this purpose has passed the lower house. There are thirty-seven boys in the reformatory at present.

¶ In Tennessee and North Carolina the movement toward reformatories is still being pushed by the colored people.

¶ Colored people of Delaware are trying to get the Governor to grant a respite to Reese Roberts, who is condemned to be hanged.

¶ A wounded colored man is accused of being one of the men who assaulted and killed the station agent at White Plains, New York.

¶ The report of the vice commission of Chicago has the following paragraph:

"In addition to this proximity to immoral conditions young colored girls are often forced into idleness because of a prejudice against them, and they are eventually forced to accept positions as maids in houses of prostitution.

"Employment agents do not hesitate to send colored girls as servants to these houses. They make the astounding statement that the law does not allow them to send white girls but they will furnish colored help!

"The apparent discrimination against the colored citizens of the city in permitting vice to be set down in their midst is unjust and abhorrent to all fair-minded people. Colored children should receive the same moral protection that white children receive."

¶ The cases against the members of the mob who murdered twenty Negroes in Palestine, Tex., last July has not yet come to trial. The cases are continually postponed when the matter comes up.

¶ R. T. Hill, cashier of the defunct True Reformers' Bank, of Richmond, has absconded.

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

Peoria, Ill., is to have a colored hook and ladder company.

¶ Charles Ward Chappelle, a colored man, has invented an aeroplane with unusual features.

¶ The Citizens' Protective Alliance of New Jersey has been incorporated by the colored men to promote and protect

the colored people of New Jersey. They propose to fight the social evil, political corruption and such matters. The incorporators are Thomas Cheatam, Levy Williams, Carter Williams and others.

¶ Colored recruits are wanted for the 24th Infantry soon to be sent to the Philippines.

¶ The colored people of Dayton, Ohio, have raised $7,623 toward a new Y. M. C. A. building.

¶ The Marblehead traveling libraries, established by the late James H. Gregory for the benefit of colored people, are being distributed by Atlanta University; some fifty are now in use.

¶ Sidney Mason, of Haverhill, Mass., has recently died. He was a policeman and afterward a fireman, and gained distinction for his courage.

¶ In Columbus, Miss., 2,142 colored persons visited the tuberculosis exhibit. At night the audience room was emptied several times in order to give the others a chance to see the pictures.

¶ Senator Bradley, of Kentucky, has introduced a bill to appropriate $250,000 for the centenary of the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1913. This is on condition that the colored people raise $100,000.

¶ In Pennsylvania a bill to appropriate $20,000 for a celebration in Philadelphia has been introduced by Representative Bass.

¶ The movement for colored hospitals and hospital work seems to be increasing. In Columbia, S. C., a new hospital is planned by Dr. Matilda Evans. In Spartanburg, S. C., a hospital already established has treated 150 patients and spent $1,200 in charitable work. It is appealing for more funds. In Annapolis, Md., the State is preparing for an $80,000 building for a Negro hospital for the indigent insane.

¶ Colored nurses in Atlanta are being appointed to examine colored school children, but the Board refuses to appoint colored doctors.

¶ Ted Cable, a colored boy, is being relied upon to bring the track team championship to Harvard this year. He is a hammer thrower of unusual ability.

¶ The New Orleans Times-Democrat publishes the following letter:

An act of true heroism has just come to light here, which should be set down to the credit of the "brother in black." About two months ago Clyde Myers, a Negro then employed at the McInnis sawmill, a few miles south of Hattiesburg, while working with Oscar McCullough, another Negro, on the saw carriage, was thrown against the saw and the flesh on his legs badly lacerated.

Myers was sent to Hattiesburg Hospital where he has since been under treatment. Recently the surgeons decided that there was but little hope for the wounded man's complete recovery, without the process of skin grafting. When Oscar McCullough was informed of this, he volunteered to give up a part of his own cuticle, and the surgeon removed a strip of the skin from Oscar's leg and transferred it to that of Clyde. The wounded man seems to be doing well since the operation, with every indication of its success.

Oscar McCullough did not seem to think he had done anything very wonderful. He said: "They tell me maybe I was to blame for Clyde's accident. If that is so I want to do all I can to help him to get well."

¶ Fifteen medical students were examined as internes in the State hospital at Indianapolis, Ind. One is a colored man, and physicians who have watched him say he is an unusual student. He received the highest average of all.

¶ The association of Physicians, Pharmacists and Dentists of Georgia have published a short history of their organization.

EDUCATION.

A colored girl has been chosen to represent the Glen Cove High School at the Nassau-Suffolk Association's oratorical contest. Ten students took part in the preliminary contest and Miss Proctor won over them all. She recited "Kentucky Belle."

¶ The Paris correspondent of the New York Journal of Commerce says, at the distribution of prizes at the Sorbonne, among the colleges belonging to the university, one of the three principal, that of Latin composition, was awarded to a mulatto youth, a native of Hayti; and the first of Greek composition to another Haytian, quite black.

¶ A poor white boy who is working his way through college at Benton Harbor, Mich., won a State oratorical contest with an oration on the American Negro.

¶ The re-election of Henry Allen, a Negro, to the board of school directors has caused more trouble at Enterprise, a mining settlement north of Des Moines, Iowa.

A year ago Mr. Allen succeeded in electing Miss Nellie Leftridge, a Negro girl of Des Moines, as teacher of the Enterprise school. The white patrons of the school made objections, but Mrs. Jennie Steele Huegle, county superintendent, sustained the election because of the character and scholarship of Miss Leftridge.

This year Mr. Allen announces that he will place Negro teachers in the Douglass township schools, and, because of the majority of the Negro population in the township, can carry out his statement.

A delegation of white citizens appealed to A. M. Deyoe, State Superintendent of Instruction, to bring action restraining Mr. Allen from carrying out his purpose.

¶ The colored people of Esterwood, La., have raised funds for a local high school.

¶ A movement has been started among the colored people of Nashville for the raising of scholarships so as to send graduates of the colored high school to college.

¶ Alice M. Curtis, who died recently in Massachusetts, has left $5,000 each to Tuskegee, Hampton and Atlanta University.

¶ The commission of which Dr. D. W. Clark, of Boston, is chairman, and among whose members are William Dean Howells, James Whitcomb Riley, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson, have established a $2,000 scholarship in memory of Paul Laurence Dunbar, at Wilberforce University. Paul Laurence Dunbar Taylor, a relative of the poet, is the first incumbent.

¶ A gift of $10,000 from Andrew Carnegie has increased the endowment fund of Fisk University to over $100,000. $300,000 must be raised in order to secure the $60,000 gift of the General Educational Board.

¶ The Board of Trustees of the State Negro college of South Carolina elected R. S. Wilkinson to succeed T. E. Miller. Wilkinson is an electrical engineer and will receive a salary of $1,800.

¶ On Easter Sunday the cornerstones of four new buildings at Kowaliga, Ala., were laid. The school and community are unusually successful.

¶ Of the eighteen colored students of the University of Illinois all are fully or in part self-supporting.

CHURCH.

On June 7th there will assemble in Meridian, Miss., one of the largest conventions of Sunday-school workers ever held in the country. They will attend the National Baptist Sunday School Congress and over 2,000 delegates are expected.

¶ The colored members of the Methodist Episcopal Church have organized a country-wide revival which will include four conventions at Baltimore, New Orleans, Atlanta and St. Louis of a week each.

¶ The Rev. George A. McGuire, formerly Archdeacon of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Arkansas, will hereafter be associated with the American Church Institute.

ECONOMICS.

The Ward Manufacturing Company, a $10,000 corporation for the manufacture of kitchen and laundry utensils, has been organized in St. Louis.

¶ John W. Simmons, a wealthy colored man from Oklahoma, says that the towns of Coweta, Red Bird, Porter, Rentie, Taft, Boley, Tatum, Wild Horse, Wire Bark, Clear View, Tallahassee and other Negro towns that have sprung up in the last few years are each the business center of a prosperous community of Negro farmers, whose holdings range from 30 to 300 acres.

"The towns have a population of from 500 to 1,500 and Negroes occupy all the offices," he said. "They own and conduct all the business. In most of them there is not a white resident or property owner. Most of these Negro towns have several stores, churches and schools. Disfranchisement and 'Jim Crow' cars have not discouraged the Negroes, who have emigrated to Oklahoma from other Southern States to take advantage of the opportunity to acquire land and wealth."

Simmons and his brother, Jacob Simmons, of Muskogee, who is reputed to be worth $100,000, conduct a large real estate business. They have recently platted an addition to Red Bird containing 230 lots, and own much improved property and several large business houses in Muskogee. John W. Simmons, whose fortune is rated at $80,000, says when he went to Oklahoma twenty-one years ago and took possession of his allotment of 160 acres of wild land he had only $64 in cash.

¶ William H. Daly, of Baltimore, Md., has bought a moving picture and vaudeville show for colored people on East Baltimore Street.

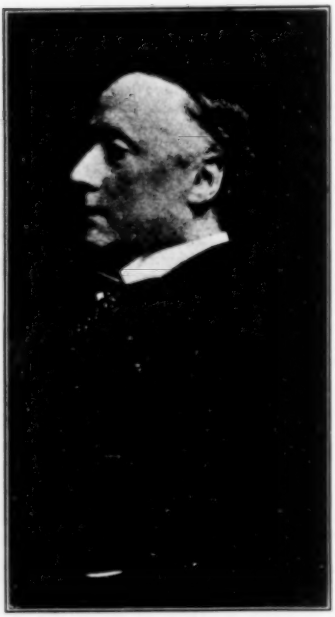
¶ A land company has an option on 100,000 acres in lower Georgia which they propose to settle with colored people.

¶ The firemen's strike on the Queen & Crescent railroad has been settled and is on the whole a victory for the colored workers. The strikers are to be reinstated within fifteen days and the division of territory between white and colored firemen is arranged. The colored firemen are not to have more than half of the best passenger and preferred freight runs and are not to be assigned to these unless by superiority and fitness.

Men of the Month

LORD WEARDALE.

When the twelfth session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union met in St. Louis in 1904 one of its members was Sir Phillip Stanhope, now Lord Weardale.



LORD WEARDALE
President Universal Races Congress

This distinguished Englishman entered the English House of Commons in 1886 as a supporter of Mr. Gladstone. He lost his seat on account of opposition to the Boer War, but was afterward returned and soon became interested in the great Peace Movement.

Together with such men as Count Apponyi and the Baron d'Estournelles de Constant Lord Weardale became a leader in the Inter-Parliamentary Union and the various movements that have resulted from it.

Lord Weardale comes of a distinguished family. One of his ancestors was Prime Minister in 1719, another was an eminent scientist associated with Fulton and his steamboat, while the present earl's father is well known as a historian and the biographer of Pitt.

It augers well for the coming Universal Races Congress that Lord Weardale has become its chief presiding officer. He brings to his task a genial temperament, wide experience and great courage.

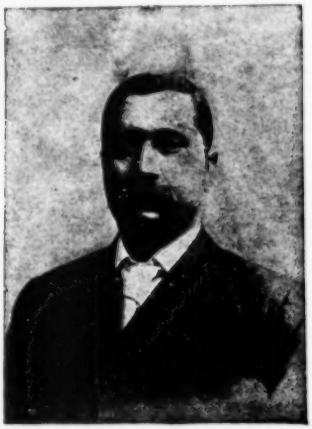
JOHN S. TROWER

Mr. John S. Trower died in Philadelphia April 4. He was born in Virginia in 1849, and was a caterer and real estate holder. His estate is admitted for probate as worth "$150,000 and upward." It is said, however, on good authority, that Mr. Trower was worth nearly $1,000,000. His will leaves his property to his widow, children and grandchildren, in trust. His catering business he directs shall be continued. The funeral services were held Saturday, April 18, at Cherry Street Baptist Church, of which he was a member.

DR. CHARLES E. BENTLEY

Dr. Charles E. Bentley has been appointed Chairman of the Committee on Mouth Hygiene for the Child's Welfare Exhibit, which will be held in Chicago, May 12 to 25, inclusive.

The New York Child's Welfare Exhibit, which recently made an appeal to



THE LATE JOHN S. TROWER

DR. CHARLES E. BENTLEY

the interest of Eastern people, will be brought to Chicago, and with the addition of some local features will constitute the show which will be held in the Chicago Coliseum for two weeks. One of the local features will be a large exhibit showing the relation of the hygiene of the mouth to the welfare of the child, and this will be the work of the committee under the direction of Dr. Bentley.

Dr. Bentley is specially fitted for work of this character, as he has been for more than three years Chairman of the Public Dental Committee of the Illinois State Dental Society, which is carrying on a vigorous campaign of education throughout the State. For many years he has ardently advocated and worked for the introduction of dental inspection in the public schools, and several years ago he made a thorough and world-wide investigation of the condition in other countries along that line.

Dr. Bentley, for many years, has been identified with every forward movement of his profession in Chicago, and in the several important offices which he has held from time to time he has always striven to realize the obligations of his professional group to civic usefulness. He was the first president of the Odontographic Society (now the Chicago Dental Society), the largest local dental society in the world. The twentieth anniversary of this society was marked by the largest gathering of dentists ever held in the history of dentistry, and the success of this meeting was largely due to the strenuous and intelligent work of Dr. Bentley, who was chairman of the program committee on that occasion.

Dr. Bentley has, for the last twenty years, been a large contributor to dental literature. For six years he held the chair of Oral Surgery in the Jenner Medical of Chicago.

Dr. Bentley was born in Cincinnati, Ohio. He received his training in Chicago, and has lived all his professional life in that city.

In spite of the handicap of race, and the disadvantages felt by every colored man in this country, Dr. Bentley has, by dint of application and determined labor, won for himself an unique place in the life of his home city, and an honored place in his profession throughout the world of dentistry.

GEORGE W. A. SCOTT

George W. A. Scott, who won second prize in the Curtis Medal contest at Columbia University in 1910, and first prize in 1911, was born in Lynchburg, Va., in 1884. He held the Robert Fulton Cutting Scholarship at Columbia, and received his A.B. degree in February, 1911. Mr. Scott is highly recommended and is looking for a position as teacher of history, physiography and elementary branches.

GEORGE W. A. SCOTT

OPINION

THE N. A. A. C. P. CONFERENCE.

The third conference of the N. A. A. C. P. received a remarkable amount of attention from the newspapers. The Boston papers gave the meeting editorial attention. The Post said: "There is to open at the Park Street Church to-day the third annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization that has already accomplished a great deal along the line of making the Negro think for himself, help to plan out his own course and solve his own problems."

The Herald commented at length: "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, now in session in this city, was formed none too soon. 'The heart of the North has grown cold toward the bondmen whom it freed' was the oratorical dictum of John M. Harlan, the aged Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, himself a Kentuckian, in an address before the Loyal Legion a decade ago, which still rings in the ears of all who heard it. He told a manifest truth. The North has acquiesced in one after another of the Southern devices of race proscription. Politics, business, fashion, femininity have decreed this course.

"One does not need to be aged to have witnessed great changes in a lifetime. No Negro now sits in either House of Congress; from even the national conventions of the Republican party the colored men are in gradual process of exclusion. Industrial opportunities, North and South, are steadily closing against them. The educated, thrifty, book-reading Negro is, if anything, less welcome to the whites than those of that race who, in popular parlance, 'keep their place.' What crazy old John Brown told the outwardly sound-minded Governor Wise of Virginia, as the latter was warning the prisoner awaiting execution of the need of preparing for what was to come, remains essentially true to-day. The old man said he had nothing much to worry about, but that it seemed to him the Governor of the Old Dominion might well give anxious thought to his own future and that of the civilization for which he stood. And in the blood and thunders of fratricidal war this grim prophecy was fulfilled. We of to-day know no better than did Governor Wise how the whirligig of time will work out its revenges, but we may be sure that such a denial of human rights as we permit in America to-day cannot be without its retributive results."

"The whole meeting," said the Record, "is merely one of protest, as it must be. The country must be awakened to the injustice and discrimination if the nation is to rid itself of this blot." The Beacon, too, says frankly: "North as well as South, the Negroes have reason to complain of the widespread and apparently increasing Caucasian animosity toward their race."

From Nebraska the Lincoln News comments: "Time was when Bostonians did not sit querying, in the words of a recent editorial in one of the Boston papers, which in part read: 'It is not easy to see what we of the North can do.' And although conditions have changed, demanding different ways and means of accomplishing certain things, it is believed that this national organization—whose founders happily formed a thoroughly representative body—will carry on its work with moderation and justice, with the plea that the best way to uplift the Negro is the best way to aid the white man to peace and content."

The Knoxville (Tenn.) Sentinel quotes from Mr. Villard's speech the statement that a Negro after he has spent years accumulating the money to buy a good house, under instructions from his advisers that he will then be respected, finds himself assailed as soon as he has reached his goal. The Sentinel sees here an argument for segregation: "This is not to be denied, and students of the race problem ought to recognize it and seek a remedy in some different manner. If whites and blacks in this country are thrown into competition and pursue the same avocations or seek to live side by side in the same communities there will be a conflict. The Negro problem is more nearly settled in the South. Certain avocations are pursued by one race only. Segregation has more nearly been brought about. Each race must develop its own civilization. The South understands the colored man and treats him better than does any other section."

The Natchez (Miss.) News objects to our platform and calls our statements false: "As to rights and opportunities, if the Association refers to political rights and opportunities, it simply amounts to a declaration that the white man, who has worked out whatever there is of civilization in the world to-day, will continue to solve his own problems with-

out asking or admitting the assistance of other races. This is probably true of all parts of the United States and of other parts of the world where, in the struggle for the survival of the fittest, the stronger race—stronger intellectually—predominates. But the statement that persons are not secure from violence and that they are not protected in the enjoyment of their property is absolutely false as to most sections. We have right here in this section a very large percentage of colored population; either the records of the courts of law or impartial observation will convince anyone that the persons of colored people are as well protected from violence as those of the whites. Luckily for the continued good feeling between the two races, the time has come when the white race is no longer fearing the possibility of 'black heels on white necks,' and when the leaders of the colored race seek its salvation in work and thrift, in decency and morality, and not in the braying of jackasses, either white or black, who insist on absolute social and political equality as the only true gospel of living in peace."

THE ASSAULT ON MR. WASHINGTON

The assault on Mr. Washington has called forth an enormous amount of press comment. Most of the 200 or more editorials of the white and colored press are confined to praise or criticism of Mr. Washington personally, and since that is not the Negro problem it does not come within the scope of this department. There is, however, some discussion of other sides of the incident.

The Southern papers, for instance, show great satisfaction that their section of the country had nothing to do with the matter. "The moral—if there is a moral—is self-evident," says the Louisville Times. "Here in the South is where the Negro belongs; here he is valued, considered, appreciated—whenever he deserves to be. Here he has ties. Here, if he knows and keeps his place, the white man respects him."

The Richmond Times-Dispatch advises Mr. Washington to stay with "his own white folks in the future." The Montgomery (Ala.) Journal is "glad those 16 stitches were not made necessary down there;" and the Atlanta Constitution says: "It all goes to show that human nature is pretty much the same the world over; red blood boils at the same affront—whether real or imaginary—in every part of the civilized world. We will, no doubt, hear less in future from the North about 'Southern outrages' than in the past!"

Another point dwelt upon by a good many papers is that the incident shows the danger to which colored men are constantly exposed. "Suppose," says the New York Press, "a man wholly unknown had been the victim?" The Pittsburg Dispatch declares the assault shows "the germ of lynching." The Indianapolis Star says Mr. Washington "paid the penalty of being a black man." The Des Moines Tribune points out that the assault "will serve to show to the country at large how senseless a lot of the hysterical outcry against the Negro really is." The Outlook, New York, thinks the lesson is "one that the whole country, without regard to section, needs to learn. Too many Americans are prone to take the law into their own hands."

Several of the colored editors emphasize the fact that Mr. Washington's misadventure goes to disprove his own optimistic theories. Among others, the Richmond Planet, remarking this, says: "Down here this woman's word would have lifted a less prominent person than Mr. Washington to the limb of a tree, where his life would have paid the penalty for a crime which he never committed. As the matter even now stands, it shows the intensity of race prejudice even in New York City."

One of the most pertinent comments we take from the Christian Recorder, of Philadelphia: "The Washington assault proves again the disadvantage of the Negro. Mr. Washington is not on trial. The charge against him was that of unlawful entry and was immediately dismissed. Nobody is accusing him. He is prosecutor, not defendant. And yet practically every paper has thought it necessary to 'defend' him. And our representative bodies have voted 'confidence,' etc., in him. So it must ever be; the Negro must ever prove his innocence even to Negroes, and he must do that even though he is the accuser and not the accused. Whenever black and white meet, no matter what may technically be the relation, practically the black man is on the defensive."

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

Much attention is paid to the movement of Negroes from Oklahoma to Canada. The Toronto Mail and Express, a Tory paper, and opposed to the government, is outspoken in calling for action which shall "guard the interests of this country in the premises." It is positive that the people of Canada do not want the Negroes as settlers and future citizens. It asserts that in the slavery days the black people of the Southern States had nowhere more compassionate friends than in the Dominion, "but to say this is not to invite hosts of Negroes to settle in Canada." The Halifax Herald defends the colored immigrants, at least those who come to Nova Scotia. "They are a good class of citizens. Included among those who came out last year

was at least one school teacher, and there were many who possessed fair education. The females were eagerly sought after as domestics. The necessity of treating Negroes as Chinamen are treated, and of imposing a $500 head tax on them, would find little favor in this city and province. Nova Scotia does not insist upon a rigid observance of the 'color line.'"

American editors do not all quite understand the situation. E. W. Thompson, in the Boston Transcript, explains how things are: "An outcry against the Oklahoma blacks came from sundry Western editors, not so much on account of their color as because they were entering to take free-grant lands. As mere laborers they would, presumably, be welcome in a region that continually clamors for hired men and that imports temporarily some 20,000 or 30,000 harvesting hands. That they were obnoxious as homesteaders was the intimation of Mr. George Alas Foster in Parliament, and of other jingoes who, considering that there are a good many Negro voters in eastern Canada, did not dare to draw the color line quite boldly. To exclude black, yellow or brown Americans from entrance and civil rights in Canada, except in so far as exclusion might come of failure to qualify as 'desirable,' would not be possible to any country at amity with the republic. But Canada is surely as free to define those to whom she will make a present of land as to refuse free grants to all and sundry."

The New York Commercial points out that the immigrants are leaving because of the race discrimination in Oklahoma, and must be "more than ordinarily intelligent. Quite naturally, the less intelligent Negroes do not fret and chafe under the operation of laws like those referred to, and are more inclined than their intelligent brethren to accept conditions as they find them. But Southern Negroes of ordinary intelligence and fair education ought to be quick to sense the fact that running away from what are distasteful and by them regarded as obnoxious and unfair conditions may easily turn out to be a 'jumping from the frying pan into the fire.' The world over the white man is much the same."

The Boston Globe, too, thinks only the industrious and ambitious would seek the free homesteads no longer available in the United States. "If they can get and hold them in the Dominion, and can stand the rigors of the climate in winter, the colored homesteaders ought to form a worthy element in the Canadian population." A number of papers take this view.

The Portland, Maine, Advertiser takes the position that the Canadian unwillingness to welcome the Negroes "absolves us from a good deal that has happened on our own side. But, most of all, it reveals the appalling fact of the sweeping, general, fundamental and, perhaps, abiding race instincts out of which this whole black-and-white trouble grows. This episode in Canada is indeed a disquieting, yet not a hopeless, 'symptom.' It excuses some of our own past mistakes, but it does much more. It proves that the Negro problem is not merely a local affair of our own, but a great moral question for whose solution the whole white race is responsible. The United States has now become simply one laboratory in which the necessary experiments may be tried."

The Southern attitude may be summed up in two quotations: "Of course, Canada will not bar the Negro on account of his color," says the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle. "She could not well do that under existing treaty laws, but it is evident that the Canadians do not want the Negro to locate in their country. Here in the South the Negro is allowed more privileges than anywhere in the world. There are some things that he is not allowed to do, but the best element of the Negro race does not desire to do those things." The Newport News Press says: "Every thinking man knows that it is an impossible condition to have two separate and distinct races of people, one physically and mentally inferior to the other, residing in the same land on terms of perfect equality. Yet the Negro as time goes on becomes more and more intolerant of anything except equality. He wants equality in this country, and if he goes to Canada he will want equality there. If Canada deems it necessary to put up the bars, what white man in public life in the United States will dare to protest?"

SOLDIERS IN TEXAS.

In view of the lightning changes in the official mind of Washington and the contradictory orders issued, it is not surprising to find the editors a little muddled as to what the black troops did or did not do at San Antonio. Anti-Negro papers promptly and joyously commented on the "bad behavior," since denied by San Antonio officials. The New Orleans Times-Democrat extols the admirable conduct of the white troops in San Antonio, and says the blacks "have earned the distrust and dislike of civilian communities." It regrets that in "giving praise to our regular army, its bestowers were compelled by the rowdyism and blackguardism of the Negro troops to qualify it by an exception which reflects, unfortunately, upon the entire establishment." The Charleston News and Courier wants colored troops abolished. "Colored troops for domestic duty in the United States army are objectionable. No necessity requires their enlist-

ment. No white officers desire to command them. They are in an untenable position, and it is the duty of the government to relieve them from that situtation." And the New York Times says: "They are good soldiers, as everybody admits, and as they have many times proved in both peace and war, but somehow they do not fit in well with the Nature of Things as They Are."

The colored "Tommy" did not lack defenders even before the charges against him were proved untrue. "The agitation for the removal of the Ninth Cavalry on account of race prejudice," says the Indianapolis News reminiscently, "serves to recall the battle of Las Guasimas. The Rough Riders had rushed headlong into a trap set by the Spaniards and were wavering before the withering volleys when the Ninth Cavalry came up and, moving forward with great steadiness and gallantry, were soon masters of the situation.

"The people of Texas, having forgotten that historic incident in the intensity of their wrath against the men of another colored regiment, the fact is officially recognized that no good purpose is to be achieved by sending these troops to southwest Texas. The white people of Texas have no quarrel with the large proportion of Negroes living around them, but the sight of a black man in uniform excites a feeling of antagonism beyond toleration. That such conditions exist anywhere is deplorable, and, as the problem is unsolvable by any means at the command of authority, the pickle the government is put in is anything but compatible with a sense of dignity and majesty. Time and distance is the only remedy for the sore."

"There may be a move in the present Congress," says the Brooklyn Eagle, "to permit the President to disband all or part of the Negro regiments. We hardly believe it will succeed. As fighting machines these regiments have proved their value; and the race problems which their presence in the army involves are problems which British experience parallels and which British common sense has pretty successfully solved." The Cleveland Leader declares the black soldier's reputation has never been surpassed by the white. "The Federal Government cannot always so dispose of the four colored regiments as to keep them away from the South. But it seems intolerable that any local regulation should be permitted to scare Washington into a blue funk. There is a line beyond which, it seems, the conciliation of political opponents ought not to be permitted."

The Messenger, of St. Albans, Vermont, a State which has had some experience with the colored soldier, takes up the cudgels for him. "He is in the ranks supporting the colors with as high a purpose as the white man. His body will stop a bullet from entering our homes as well as any, and we don't begrudge that it should. It is barely possible that the whites near army posts where blacks are stationed fail to do their whole duty in their relation to their defenders."

THE FIREMEN'S STRIKE.

Our news columns give an account of the firemen's strike on the Queen & Crescent Railroad. The white press has not commented more than casually, but the colored press has made some pointed remarks.

"The significance of the strike and resultant murders of colored firemen on the Cincinnati Southern Railroad should not be overlooked," says the Washington National Union. "It should be borne in mind that the colored firemen are not 'scabs' or strikebreakers, but regularly employed workmen. There is no complaint of their inefficiency or their unwillingness to join with their white fellow employees in organizing for betterment. It is simply this; they are called upon to accept a permanent and fixed status at the bottom—in jobs that white men do not (at present) desire—and the railroad is required to ratify the 'understanding' and enforce it. It looks like an extension and exemplification of the recently announced policy as to political offices—in effect, that no colored man may hold a position when white people object, or, if you please to so state it boldly, any place that a white man wants.

"One peculiar feature of the strike situation is that, although all traffic is interfered with, and the dispatches say that on some sections of the road no freight is moving, so far there has been no cry raised as to interference with interstate commerce, nor any of the United States troops rushed to the scene. However, the railroad is standing by its employees, which is encouraging."

The railroad did stand by the colored employees and secured some rights for them. The Charleston Advocate, another Negro paper, remarks that had the strikers been successful, the economic progress of the Negro would have been seriously impeded. As it is, considerable harm has been done. "The relations between the white and black firemen," it says, "have been irreparably strained, and the movement to bar the Negro from all but menial labor has been forwarded.

"Speaking to the Negroes of Atlanta last month, President Taft said: 'The secret of the solution of the problem of the South is education, primary and industrial.' At that very time this strike was on, and industrial education, one of

the President's factors in the solution of the South's problem, caused it. The whites saw that industrially educated blacks stood in their way to lucrative employment, and they forthwith attempted to remove the stumbling block. This leads to the observation that industrial education, the accumulation of wealth, uprightness nor meekness, nor all of them when exercised only by the Negro portion of the population of the South, is a solvent of the problem of the races. It begins to look as if greater results would be accomplished if the whites could get the benefit of some of the advice which every speaker seems to feel duty bound to give a Negro audience."

This comment is borne out by the remark of the Knoxville (Tenn.) Sentinel, one of the few white papers to refer to the strike. "The settlement appears to be a fair one. Ultimately we believe whites and blacks in the South will not be encouraged to follow any similar line of skilled labor. Their competition produces friction."

THE CORNELL INCIDENT.

The appearance of race prejudice at Cornell University leads the Milwaukee Wisconsin to observe: "There was a time in the early days of the abolition movement when a high-minded New England woman, Prudence Crandall, suffered the breaking up of her establishment, one of the then most prosperous young ladies' seminaries in the East, rather than deny its advantages to colored pupils. There was a later time when in any part of the North such a protest as that of the 300 white remonstrators at Cornell would have been looked upon as narrow and unpatriotic. Allegations have been made of late by white friends of the colored race as well as by members of that race that prejudice against them expressing itself in proscription is growing. This is a reactionary tendency."

The Boston Globe calls the faculty's task of deciding whether or not the colored girls are to be admitted to Sage Dormitory an unenviable one. "If it were possible to distinguish between civil, political, economic, educational and social rights and privileges, the task of the Cornell trustees might not be so difficult, but those rights and privileges are all bound up together. Deny one and you infringe all the others. The colored students at Cornell are entitled to a fair and square answer to the question raised by the white women students, and the whole country will await it with interest."

The Norwich (Conn.) Record goes into an interesting argument: "The issue is one that does not directly interest the South. Certainly it can cause the South no alarm. The Southern colleges and universities open to the white race exclusively are increasing in wealth and facilities, and the South will be able to educate its own sons and daughters. Whenever the doors of a Northern institution are thrown open to the Negroes, the North thereby assumes a part of the South's race problem. As time goes on and the more capable and ambitious young Negroes discover that they will be received sincerely on terms of equality in the Northern colleges, they will go to the Northern colleges—and remain in the North when they have been graduated. The presence of two Negresses in Sage Dormitory would not establish social equality in Cornell, but if it should be followed by the admission of 220 during the coming ten or twenty years the genuineness of some of the Northern doctrines would be established, and Cornell would be arrayed aggressively in a campaign to break down racial barriers. Heretofore, the Northern institutions have, as a rule, said one thing and acted another. The opportunity is offered to Cornell to set itself in the front rank as an institution opposed to race separation, and its course will be looked upon from the South with an interest very slightly biased by selfish considerations. Meanwhile, the Northern acumen exhibited in the lavish endowment of Negro schools, such as Tuskegee, in the South, so that embarrassing questions of the kind that now exercise students and trustees at Cornell may be avoided so long as possible, finds itself unable to escape attention."

The Richmond Times-Dispatch thinks the faculty's decision of little importance: "No college law can break up ostracism. A snub is not unlawful. Social discrimination can be drawn. West Point, with all its discipline, cannot prevent 'silence.' A white student would not be welcome in a colored college, and the reverse is equally true."

¶ The Darlington, S. C., News and Press is not a believer in the Blease doctrines. "It is a noteworthy fact," it says, "that few Negroes who can read and write fill our jails in comparison with the number who cannot write their names.

"The Negro is here to stay, not as a slave, or under conditions in which he could be governed as in a state of slavery, but as a free individual, and his propensity to crime can be removed only by means which operate for his uplift."

¶ "The big pow-wow, called the National Association, etc., having pow-wowed out in New York, that is fortunately impatient of whining problem solvers, will be held this year up Boston way, where the people like big talk from empty heads."
—N. Y. Age (colored).

WOMEN'S CLUBS

By A. W. HUNTON

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COLORED WOMEN.

By A. W. Hunton.

While club work among colored women really antedates the organization of the National Association of Colored Women at Washington, D. C., in 1896, it is customary now to reckon all progress in this direction from that event. Doing so, we believe that the National Association has not only developed strongly and steadily until it has won the cordial and discriminating approval of the best people, irrespective of color or section, but that the ideals held by our women fifteen years ago relative to the possibilities of the club movement as a social, economic and moral force have been overreached, and we are now exhilarated by the vision of larger possibilities.

MISS ELIZABETH C. CARTER
President National Association of Colored Women

There have been three distinct periods in the work of the National Association—organization and expansion, departmental, State federation. It was in the first period that women in every section of the country heard the clarion call of the new movement, awakening them to thought, to action, to life. The response was generous. Women, the most cultured of the race; women, students only of the great school of humanity, but with keen desire and courageous hearts; women from every section came flocking, that through the National Association of Colored Women they might be unified into a working force.

This unifying process in the spirit and aim of the intelligent colored women has been one of her strongest blessings in the past decade. It has not only brought the women of New York and California, of Massachusetts and Texas, to know the needs and realize the advantages and disadvantages each of the other, but it has been their open sesame to modern methods and aims of philanthropy and their favorite resource for sympathetic encouragement and support in their various efforts.

With such a flocking into camp of its forces, the Association soon realized the necessity of working in groups, so various departments were formed, as the occasion demanded, and placed under the direction of women either experienced or peculiarly fitted for the work assigned them. Of the many departments that now constitute the Association may be mentioned Kindergarten, Mothers' Meetings, Day Nurseries, Humane and Rescue, Temperance, Religion, Literature, Domestic Science, Music, Art, Forestry and Statistics. Hence the inspiration for kindergartens that overtook New Orleans, Charleston, Atlanta and other cities of the South; the successful efforts for probation officers in Denver, Pittsburg, Atlanta and a few other cities; the zeal that made nine women of Vicksburg raise $2,000 more and convert into an old folks' home a picturesque old antebellum mansion, standing upon a knoll of that historic city and overlooking the dark waters of the Mississippi; that caused still another group to crown one of the many hills of the famous Hot Springs of Arkansas with a similar home, and that lent enthusiasm to the women of New Bedford to persevere until they had won confidence and support for the erection of an old folks' home, at once a joy to their city and the pride of colored women everywhere.

The three homes just mentioned present a fascinating story, but there are many other homes as a result of Association work—for old folk, for orphans, for fallen girls, for business girls, telling stories of just plain, hard sacrifice. Mothers' meetings, notable in results at Tuskegee, Louisville, St. Louis, Jacksonville, and at Jackson and Westside, Mississippi, have proven one of the most helpful and interesting features of the movement, and the results have been far-reaching.

The next period of Association activity was represented by the forming of State Federations. This was not only foreseen to be wise as a means of greater strength, influence and unity of purpose for the club movement in various States, but a resource for harmonious adjustment of representation in the National Association at some future time when the members in individual clubs would become unwieldy. The development in State organization has been very rapid. Already every important State of the country has a State Federation. Every Gulf, South Atlantic and South Central State has been organized. The Northeast is represented by the Northeastern Federation, in itself a powerful organization. The North Central and Northwest are almost solidly organized, while California, Colorado, Utah and other Western States have strong organizations, and are thoroughly liberal in their financial support of the National Association.

Aside from the efforts of its individual clubs, each State Federation has for its object the promotion of some cause that will make for the good of the people of the whole State. The State Federation of Alabama has labored for several years for the erection of a reformatory that should save their youth from the coal mines of that State. Their prayers and work have finally borne themselves upon the Legislature of Alabama, until it has recognized the splendid efforts of these colored women and rewarded them by State appropriation for their reformatory. A similar effort by the Virginia State Federation, in the interest of an industrial home for the wayward girls of the State, also promises to meet with like approval by State appropriation.

Conventions of the National Association have been held at Nashville, Chicago, Buffalo, St. Louis, Detroit, Brooklyn and Louisville, and have been thoroughly national in character. Each of these conventions has added something of strength, permanence and influence to the movement, and has brought before the American people, as never before, the colored woman of character and intellect.

A word with reference to the women who have guided this Association will further emphasize the reasons for its admirable construction and policy. Mrs. Mary Church Terrell was the first president, and, standing at the head in the important period of organization, her splendid ability was of inestimable value. She was followed by Mrs. J. Silone Yates, under whose guardianship the National Association reached its second period and made great progress in departmental work. The impetus for State federation was given and was further emphasized during the administration of Mrs. Lucy Thurman. Miss Elizabeth C. Carter, of New Bedford, has, in the three years of her administration, traveled throughout the country and is known and loved in a personal way by the humblest sister of the ranks. Her administration has been marked by great harmony and increased activity and results all over the country.

Among the women who have worked faithfully for the Association from its beginning, none have been more constant nor more energetic than its first vice-president, Mrs. Booker Washington. The names of Ida Joyce Jackson, of Columbus, O.; Mary E. Stewart and Mary Parrish, of Louisville; Sylvania Williams, of New Orleans; Josephine Bruce, of Washington; Josephine Holmes, of Atlanta, and Hester Jeffries, of Rochester, are among those who have followed the cause from its very beginning till the present.

The National Association of Colored Women became affiliated with the National Council of Women in 1900, and has been regularly represented in its conclaves since that time. Only recently Mrs. Mary Talbert, of Buffalo, and Mrs. Ida Joyce Jackson, of Columbus, were most warmly welcomed and entertained as delegates to the National Council in its sessions at Cleveland, O. A few years ago Mrs. Terrell represented the National Association at the meeting of the International Council of Women, held in Berlin. Mrs. Terrell was most enthusiastically received, and delivered her address in German and French as well as in English.

Such is a very brief outline of the most interesting and helpful work being done by colored women. Every feature of it has a story all its own. There are many individual clubs whose accomplishments are well worth relating. One might tell of the Fresh Air and Empty Stocking Association of Baltimore; of the Woman's Era Club, of Boston; the Phyllis Wheatley Clubs, of Chicago and New Orleans; the Kindergarten Associations of Charleston and Atlanta; Loyal Union, of Brooklyn; Lincoln Home Club, of Springfield, Ill.; the Jackson (Miss.) Woman's Club and others—each one doing its work in its own chosen way, and yet each seeking to follow the motto of the Association, "Lifting as We Climb."

No, the Association is not yet perfect; for all of its planting there has not been golden grain, but we have reaped abundantly, and miracles that only unselfish, determined, enthusiastic service can bring to pass have been wrought for us.

Resting upon the unified aim and spirit of 45,000 workers, quick to discern opportunities, what can the National Association of Colored Women not achieve?

EDITORIAL

THE WOMAN.

IN the land of the Heavy Laden came once a dreary day. And the King who sat upon the Great White Throne raised up his eyes and saw afar off how the hills around were hot with hostile feet, and the sound of the mocking of his enemies struck anxiously on the King's ears, for the King loved his enemies. So the King lifted up his hand and in the glittering silence spake softly, saying, "Call the servants of the King." Then the herald stepped before the armpost of the throne and cried: "Thus saith the High and Mighty One, whose name is Holy: the servants of the King." Now, of the servants of the King there were a hundred and forty-four thousand —tried men and brave, brawny of arm and quick in wit; aye, too, and women of wisdom and marvelous in beauty and grace. And yet on this drear day when the King called their ears were thick with the dust of the enemy, their eyes were blinded with the flashing of his spears, and they hid their faces in dread silence and moved not, even at the King's behest. So the herald called again. And the servants cowered in very shame, but none came forth. But the third blast of the herald struck upon a woman's heart, afar. And the woman straightway left her baking and sweeping and the rattle of tins. And the woman straightway left her chatting and gossiping and the sewing of garments. And the woman stood before the King, saying, "The servant of thy servants, O Lord."

Then the King smiled—smiled wondrously, so that the setting sun burst through the clouds and the hearts of the King's men dried hard within them. And the low-voiced King said, so low that even they that listened heard not well: "Go smite me mine enemies that they cease to do evil in my sight." And the woman quailed and trembled. Three times she lifted up her eyes unto the hills and saw the heathen whirling onward in their rage. And seeing she shrank—three times she shrank and crept to the King's feet. "O King," she cried, "I am but a woman," and the King answered: "Go then, mother of men." And the woman said, "Nay, King, but I am still a maid." Whereat the King cried: "O Maid made Man, thou shall be Bride of God." And yet the third time the woman shrank at the thunder in her ears, and whispered: "Dear God, I am black." And the King spake not, but swept the veiling of his face aside and lifted up the light of his countenance upon her and lo! it was black.

So the woman went forth on the hills of God to do battle for the King on that drear day in the land of the Heavy Laden, when the heathen raged and imagined a vain thing.

PREJUDICE.

THERE is a class of Americans who are coming to regard race prejudice as a divine thing against which it is perfectly useless to strive. If such persons will consider the news of the month they will easily realize that race prejudice in the United States is a deliberately cultivated and encouraged state of mind. In Chicago that which was heralded the world over as "racial" antipathy and called even a "race war" in an art class was proven to be merely a lie, made by a sensation monger. In Delaware a "mob of Negroes" dissolves itself into the rioting of liquor-soaked white toughs. In Texas, the white city of San Antonio went so wild over the excellence of Negro troops that a demagogue in

Congress thought it was time for another Brownsville, and our amiable President hastened to comply—with three contradictory orders in 24 hours. Is it not time that reasonable Americans refuse to be stampeded by nonsense and lies?

There is some evidence of awakening on this point. Hysterical schoolgirls at Cornell, who ought to know better than to yield to cheap snobbery, have been quietly but firmly rebuked by the President. In Boston last year certain impudent Southerners stampeded the managing committee of the Boston Floating Hospital into refusing to appoint colored nurses. The result was that this year one white Southern woman and four white Northern women held up the New England Hospital for women and children for daring to admit a colored interne. These chivalrous and devoted ladies threatened to leave the sick and dying to their fate unless the directors yielded; but the directors calmly declared by a vote of 17 to 4 that they proposed to run the hospital themselves. What has been the result? Has the world ended, or the South seceded? Is the "supremacy" of the white race threatened? It is incomprehensible when we conceive of the ease with which the average American can be stampeded, if you say "Prejudice" to him. Thank God, there are still some who refuse to run.

HUMOR.

SOMETIMES our friends write so much better editorials than we can that we simply hand the pen to them. Here is a case in point. It is a letter from a member of one of the most distinguished families in America:

"I do not wonder that the old Negro melody, to which you refer, had the line:

'Jesus is dead, and God's gone away.'

"It is but one monotonous history of cruelty, wrong, injustice, and exploitation of the weaker by the strong and the end is not yet.

"When Elizabeth sent Hawkins to the coast of Africa to make slaves of the natives one of the ships was named the 'Jesus' and the other 'The Grace of God.' Yet Elizabeth was no humorist; but in serious earnest.

"It seems very funny to me, however, as I look back upon it. So when Napoleon and other imperial robbers tore Poland in three parts they did it in 'The name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.'

"They, too, were not humorists. Yet it was very funny. So when I was in the South I saw many churches in which no one who had one drop of Negro blood could worship in peace except 'Old Mammy' or 'Jim Crow.' It is not much better here in the North, as you well know.

"When to the enormity of being born with a black skin one adds the crime of threatening the social superiority of the lordly Caucasian by an intelligence, culture or refinement equal to or superior to his own what rage, what fury, what threats of teaching 'the nigger to keep his place!' If the humorous is by contrast how funny the white man's Christianity! 'We are the superiors of you black men and we will murder every one of you if necessary to demonstrate that superiority!'

"As a lordly Southerner said to me the other day, 'The nigger is all right in his place; but when he begins to show any of his damned *bigotry* we'll kill him.' If the man could have read my thoughts he would have killed me. I thought that the 'damned bigotry' was characteristic of the white man and not of the Negro.

"To tell the truth I do not see that Christianity has any practical influence on the majority of white men and women in this insane race prejudice. A relative of mine was white with rage the other day because a Negro man and woman sat near her in the Hippodrome. She was with her sister. I think that the prejudice grows worse and worse. It is no use to try to reason people out of that

which is not founded on reason. Yet I sometimes am ashamed of my color when I think of these things.

"I shall speak at X——— College on the great formative and germinal idea of our nation, 'We believe that all men are created equal.' Equal in the sight of their Creator, and there shall be one law for all, one justice for all, one equity for all. That human nature is not anything labeled or ticketed, but the common endowment of all mankind. Nothing less than humanity is required to regulate the affairs of humanity, and I believe that neither sex, color nor creed should be an obstacle in the way of the regulation of human affairs. The very spirit and genius of our nation demands this.

"But I am only a voice crying in the wilderness."

CIVIL SERVICE.

ONLY the far-sighted realize that the anti-Negro campaign in America is slowly changing its base. Once it howled at and contended against Dirt and Poverty; Bad Manners and innate and eternal Inferiority. To-day it contends against human beings, even though they are clean and thrifty and polite, and can demonstrate their ability. If you appear puzzled at this change of base there is always a whisper for your private ear—confidential information relating to certain innate characteristics, by which this man, though personally clean, sprang from dirty seed and to dirty seed must inevitably return; by which this man, though a gentleman of ability, must be treated like a dog on account of a temporarily hidden (but absolutely certain) dog nature.

If you venture to question or deny these facts you are laughed to scorn and literally forced to act as though these lies were true. Thus in Cleveland, on February 23, a civil service examination was held to fill a vacancy in the position of law clerk, stenographer and typewriter at $1,600 per annum in the office of William L. Day, U. S. District Attorney. About ten candidates took the examination. Two colored men stood first and third, and a Jew, second, on the list. James G. Bachman (white), who was appointed and who was at the time of the examination, temporarily employed in the office of District Attorney Day, was among those who took the examination. Bachman failed to qualify in the competitive examination for the place, and as soon as this was known the Department of Justice at Washington, D. C., acting on Mr. Day's recommendation, abolished the position of law clerk, stenographer and typewriter, and in lieu thereof appointed Bachman an Assistant U. S. District Attorney for Mr. Day's office, thereby ignoring the three persons, Messrs. Henry L. Thomas, Nathan Rappaport and Edward Dunjill, who stood highest on the eligible list, and who were certified for appointment. Now then, is this a case of rare race pride and triumphant Americanism, or is it just a plain, low trick of which every fair-minded man should be ashamed?

To a blind and starving white family on the East Side came recently a letter from Trenton, in an uncertain straggling hand, from "a servant of God who feels it his duty to care for the poor even though he is a colored man," and who asked the mother and her babies to "put faith in Jesus Christ and accept the enclosed one dollar."

It is characteristic. Here is a people sweet tempered, forgiving and kindly almost beyond belief. Any other race, under the treatment they are receiving, would be on the edge of revolution or suicide.

Here is a great strong brutal nation using every effort to beat this kindliness, this sweet cheer out of ten millions. And they are succeeding, too. Already the laugh is lighter, the resentment fiercer, the faith weaker. Will the gain be great when this people's love and laughter are changed to hatred and bitterness?

OLONEL MARSHALL

Officers of the Eighth Regiment Illinois National Guard; Colonel Marshall is now attending the maneuvers in Texas.

THE N. A. A. C. P.

The third annual conference of the Association was held in Park Street Church, Boston, on Thursday and Friday, March 30 and 31. It was on the whole the best of the conferences held, and showed the Association in excellent condition, with a host of new friends.

First Session.

The opening session Thursday afternoon was attended by about 700 of the best people of Boston. Mayor Fitzgerald welcomed the convention to Boston in a very sympathetic speech. The addresses of the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the Director of Publicity and Research are published in full in this issue. The excellent address of Rabbi Fleisher, together with that of Miss Adelene Moffat, which was the gem of the session, will be published later.

Second Session.

Nearly a thousand persons greeted the speakers Thursday evening. Mrs. Florence Kelly showed how the labor problem, the sex problem and the Negro problem had at bottom the same difficulty—the oppression of those who "do not count," and she illustrated this by her experience in a Southern mill town.

Mr. Milholland's speech was a comment on his Philadelphia speech for National aid to education. That speech can be had at this office in pamphlet form. Mr. Hershaw and Mrs. Terrell gave excellent and striking testimony as to the prevalence of peonage.

Third Session.

On Friday morning the business session was held. The treasurer's report showed an expenditure of over $6,000 during the past year, and an excellent organization for work. The following officers were elected:

President—Mr. Moorfield Storey, Boston, Mass.

Vice-Presidents—Mr. John E. Milholland, New York; Bishop Alexander Walters, New York; Bishop Benjamin F. Lee, Wilberforce, Ohio; Rev. G. R. Waller, Baltimore, Md.

Chairman of the Executive Committee—Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, New York.

Treasurer—Mr. Walter E. Sachs, New York.

Since this meeting the office force has been arranged as follows:

Director of Publicity and Research—Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, New York.

Executive Secretary—Miss Mary W. Ovington, New York.

Local Organizer—Miss Frances Blascoer, New York.

The Executive Committee was continued as formerly and the following resolutions were adopted:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People adopts the following declaration of its principles and purposes:

"We recognize the undoubted fact that in every part of the country to a greater or less extent colored American citizens are denied the equal rights and the equal opportunities to which they are entitled under the Constitution and laws of the United States. Not only are they by various devices deprived of their right to vote, but their persons are not secure from violence, they are not protected in the enjoyment of their property, those who injure them are not punished by the courts, so that in many regions they may be ill-treated with impunity; the funds raised by taxation for public education are very unequally divided between white and colored children, many are growing up in ignorance and degradation, efforts are too frequently made by systems of peonage virtually to re-enslave them, and they are denied the opportunity to work in many employments. They are the victims of ignorant race prejudice, and not only the colored race, but the whole body of American citizenship suffers from its consequences.

"We believe that the responsibility for these conditions rests chiefly upon the white people of the United States, that it is their duty to change them, and we call upon all who believe in justice to join in the work.

"We insist that the colored citizen of the United States is entitled to every right, civil and political, that is accorded to his white neighbor.

"We hold as a self-evident political truth that no men who are deprived of the right to vote can protect themselves against oppression and injustice. They cannot influence legislation or have a voice in selecting the tribunals by which their rights are determined, and the first step toward the advancement of the colored race is the recognition and protection of their right to vote.

"We aim at the creation of a public opinion which will not tolerate injustice in the courts, which will resent any ill-treatment of colored persons or their property, which will demand that proper

educational facilities be provided for them, which will recognize their right to labor without hindrance and to enjoy the fruits of their labor, and which will assist in every way to remove the prejudice which now retards the progress of the colored race. Finally we believe that no section of the United States can escape responsibility for the conditions that exist, or can claim the exclusive right to deal with the problem. The wrongs which the colored man suffers affect the whole body politic, and it is the duty of every good citizen to aid in righting them.

"It is our purpose to investigate and to report the result of our investigations, to secure proper legal aid to maintain and defend the colored man's rights, to promote the education of the race, and in every possible way to remove the obstacles which retard its progress. We recognize that the friends of the race may differ as to the means of accomplishing results, or as to the emphasis which is to be laid on one or another evil. We propose to antagonize no one who is honestly laboring to lift the colored race, and we shall welcome aid from everyone who sympathizes with our purposes, and is willing to help a cause which needs all the help that the people of this country can give. No more important question confronts the American people to-day, and the longer existing conditions continue the more certain is it that the results will be disastrous to us all."

To this general declaration were added four resolutions, one protesting against caste, two urging inquiry into Federal aid to education, and the following:

Resolved, That we put on record our profound regret at the recent assault on Dr. Booker T. Washington in New York City, in which the Association finds renewed evidence of race discrimination and increased necessity for the awakening of the public conscience.

The reception Friday afternoon at the Twentieth Century Club was most enjoyable, and was attended by 250 guests.

Fourth Session.

The final session, Friday night, had 800 or more listeners to addresses by the Rev. G. R. Waller, Mr. Samuel Elder and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise. Mr. Waller gave a careful review of the Baltimore segregation movement, and the address of Dr. Wise was a fitting climax to the conference.

All of the chief addresses will be published in full by the Association. The cost of the pamphlet will be about twenty-five cents, and it will be ready by June 1.

The success of the conference was largely due to the local committee, under the chairmanship of Dr. Horace Bumstead and the co-operation of Miss Frances Blascoer, the local organizer.

REPORT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

By Oswald Garrison Villard.

CONCEIVED two years ago at the celebration of the Abraham Lincoln Centennial in the conscientious belief that the situation of the Negro in the United States called for a strong militant organization to defend his rights and forward his causes, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has encountered nothing in its experience save what has confirmed it in its original view of the need of the hour. More than that, it has received from all sides requests for aid and assistance, some few of which it has been able to honor. It has beheld, far and near, opportunities to be of service to the country by obtaining the facts about some phase of the situation and publishing them, but here, too, it has been limited by the funds at its disposal, not by any lack of interest. Wherever it has sought them it has found kindred spirits, men and women whose hearts were attune to the old watchwords of the Republic: Equality before the law; no taxation without representation; a ballot for every man of sound mind; universal human freedom. Just as had been foreseen, there has been discovered a great body of influential citizens who welcome the opportunity to band together anew in defense of the principle as vital now as in 1858, that this nation cannot exist half slave and half free. Determined that the sacrifices of lives and treasure during the Civil War shall not go for naught these men and women are ready for aggressive and even radical action. They have seen the doctrines that would make serfs and segregated outcasts of ten millions of American citizens spreading throughout the North, one Northern newspaper after another falling into Southern hands, and the old antebellum spirit manifesting itself in the highest legislature of the land, where it has but recently taunted the North upon its failure to do for the Negro what the world thought was accomplished in 1863.

Realizing full well that there is much in the industrial condition of the Negro and his progress upward to call for encouragement—so loyal a Southerner as Henry Watterson has described it as nothing less than marvelous—the Association is none the less appalled by the growth of the caste spirit in every section of the Union. It has realized from the beginning that it was a National and not a sectional problem, precisely as the battle for the emancipation of the Negro had to be fought and won in Boston as well as in the South during the anti-slavery crusade. Had it had any doubt upon this point the lynching of innocent people because of their color in Springfield, Ill., the home of Abraham

Lincoln, for which crimes not one single person has been punished, would have removed them. It does not intend to overlook the cheerful and encouraging events; these it records in its organ, THE CRISIS, and it acknowledges with gratitude and thankfulness the many words of encouragement and aid which have come from the South. There can be no doubt that the conscience of the enlightened South is stirring, and that it is not impossible that there shall be formed in the South before long organizations to obtain justice for the colored man. Mr. James H. Dillard, the distinguished executive of the Slater and Jeanes Funds, himself a Southerner, and formerly a professor of Tulane University, has recently dwelt upon the injustice done to the Negroes in the lower courts, upon common carriers, their deprivation of proper school facilities, and above all, the judging of the Negroes as a whole by their worst types. Even the Atlanta Constitution has been moved by the wonderful record of the colored people in raising within a few days $67,000 for a building for a colored Y. M. C. A. in Atlanta, to ask whether the South ought not now to work to encourage the self-respect and race respect of the Negro, instead of forever discouraging and depreciating him.

Encouraging as all this is, there can be no doubt that a wave of color hysteria is sweeping over the country. People are actually frightened into fits in New York City by the fact that a Columbia professor and his wife proposed to oblige the Woman's Suffrage party by having colored and white women their guests at tea. Alarmed by the newspaper publications the landlord threatens an injunction, and the old fiction of a man's home being his castle disappears, together with the old belief that in America a man has personal liberty. The road of the aspiring colored man or woman becomes more and more difficult; he is abused for his low associations. Let him seek to rise above them and what happens? Despite the fact that he has for years been told that if he acquires property, and buys himself a house, if he does so in a section of a city, whether it be New York, Seattle, Baltimore or Richmond, in which he may assure to his children good associations, pure air and clean streets, he is assailed as if his presence there meant the bringing in of a taint worse than leprosy, and the laws are invoked against him. If he would leave the vile theatres and moving-picture shows he finds every other theatre door closed in his face. Let him arrive in New York at night and seek a lodging in a respectable hotel, and there is only one at which his application would for a moment be considered. No matter how well dressed, how well behaved and self-respecting he may be, the other hotels are always full, and the clerks are always regretful, oh, so regretful, that they cannot give him a place to lay his head. In Southern cities the public libraries are closed in the face of the colored man who would make himself a useful law-abiding and valuable citizen. Yes, the books of his own authors, Washington, DuBois, Chesnutt and Dunbar, are denied him. His wife may be ill and desire the aid of Northern surgeons; if so, she must travel in a day coach and is denied, in some States, a Pullman berth, and by the son of Abraham Lincoln, even though it may cost her her life, as it did in one case of which we know. So far has this color hysteria gone that a Mississippi court has awarded $25,000 damages to a woman who sued because she had been compelled to spend a night in a sleeping car in which were also five bishops of the church, who were colored men. And in almost every other field of human activity there are those who would assert the doctrine that all men may rise save he whose skin is black. The labor unionists, some Socialists, even some Jews, who ought in all conscience to realize what oppression means and the wickedness of attempts to hold down a race, would withhold a helping hand to the colored man, and thereby mock the teachings of Christianity. Meanwhile, in the political field, the Negro, unaware of his holding the balance of power in several States, is being stripped of his rights and privileges as a citizen. He cannot even have a voice in the expenditure of his school funds, nor in the selection of his teachers who shall educate his children. If any Southern State to-day voted to put white teachers in the schools to teach them what Major Vardaman has been saying in Mississippi in his campaign for the Senate, that "the most illiterate white man is better equipped to understand the scheme of this government and to vote intelligently to perpetuate it than any Negro;" or that the Negro is not a human being, but a beast, as a learned Southern professor has maintained, the Negroes would be powerless to resent it; they would only have the choice of denying their children all education. But what education is there to-day about which so many people confidently assert that it has inflated the Negro to his disadvantage, as compared with the "good old Negroes of a bygone generation?" Let me give you the case of a single North Carolina county, Alexander County, for the statistics of which we are indebted to a Southern white man, Charles L. Coon, head of the Wilson, N. C., schools. The total value of the school property, in which 224 school children are being taught, is but $309. The average length of the school term is but 65 days, and the total amount expended for teaching but $412.32, or an

average per year to each teacher of $51.54. Can anyone with sane senses believe that the education given here merits that name, or that any child can master the rudiments of an education even if he should attend these schools for ten terms of 65 days? It was only the other day that the Superintendent of Education in South Carolina declared that the rural colored schools of the State, inadequate as they are, were wholly without any supervision or inspection, or settled State policy. This Association believes that public education of the colored child in the South is steadily retrograding, and it asks for the means to make a scientific investigation and to demonstrate these facts to the country.

Incredibly bad as this state of things is we are less apt to be shocked by it than by the cases of individual hardship and injustice. In this field the Association has turned no deaf ear to any individual appeal for aid. Thus in the case of Thomas Williams, an Asbury Park, N. J., Negro, accused of committing the most fearful of crimes upon a white child, whose dead body was found on Thanksgiving Day, the Association acted as soon as its attention was called to this case. Of course the sensational New York newspapers saw to that. They had on their first pages great startling headlines telling what the "Negro brute" had done, and so great was the excitement at Asbury Park that the man would have been lynched—almost in sight of New York—had there not been a determined sheriff who, after standing off the mob, rushed his prisoner in an automobile to the Freehold, N. J., jail, and there this unfortunate was subjected, as he told our attorney, to every form of that torture which is known as the third degree, another species of lynching and quite as lawless. "They did everything to me but electrocute me," he told our attorney, when, after considerable difficulty, he forced his way to the prisoner. Through habeas corpus proceedings it was possible to free this innocent man after the Grand Jury had failed to indict. But though the Judge thanked the Association for its services in the matter, not one word about the exculpation of this black man appeared in those newspapers which had devoted their most conspicuous columns to the horror of his alleged crime. Not even when the real murderer, a young white man, was detected did any newspaper do justice to the black man; nor did they place the word WHITE all through their story of the confession of the murderer.

To give you one other case in which the Association has acted successfully, this time through its Chicago members, I would refer to the case of Steve Greene, an Arkansas Negro, who succeeded in escaping the lynching mob and getting to Chicago after incredible hardships. His crime was shooting his landlord who had three times shot him merely because Greene had refused to renew his lease at an advance of almost 100 per cent. in rent. The details of this wounded man's flight, his hiding on a Mississippi River sand bank, his arrest in Chicago, his being placed on a train by officers of the law who said to him: "Steve, you are the most popular man in Arkansas—there are three thousand people waiting to burn you when we get back;" his being rescued by the last sheriff in Illinois, thanks again to the great writ of habeas corpus, and his finally being smuggled into Canada as if he were a fugitive slave and the year 1856—all of these things make thrilling reading, furnish material for a new Uncle Tom's Cabin, just as they portray a fearful state of civilization for the year 1911. They also explain why it is that the National Association finds work without end to do, and thousands who acclaim its entrance into active service on behalf of the colored people.

The Association's year now under review has been one of steady progress despite the difficulty of campaigning while organizing and building up, not only the membership of the Association but its national headquarters and local organizations in New York, Chicago and elsewhere. The Bureau of Publicity and Research began work on September 1 last, since which time it has carried on a heavy correspondence, and as the report of the Director will show, there have been given under its auspices fifty-eight lectures on subjects pertaining to the cause, at which 21,000 persons have been reached. Our monthly, THE CRISIS, has met with astounding success, and although but half a year old has already a circulation of 10,000 copies. Subject to the approval of the Association, papers have been drawn for its incorporation under the laws of the State of New York, and by-laws have been prepared. A Civil Rights Committee has been formed under the chairmanship of Mr. Thomas Ewing, Jr., and is in readiness to cooperate with those who seek to test in the Supreme Court of the United States the Jim Crow and Disfranchisement Clause recently placed on the statute books of Oklahoma, and with those who are ready to oppose any segregation ordinance in Baltimore or elsewhere, as well as with those who have the curiosity to ascertain if the New York laws forbidding race discrimination are, or are not, dead letters. From a most valued member of our Executive Committee, Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago, has come an urgent request for a similar testing of the laws in Illinois, to which it is hoped to respond ere long. As Miss Addams has expressed it: "If the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People will soberly take up every flag-

rant case of lawbreaking, and if it will allow no withdrawal of constitutional rights to pass unchallenged it will perform a most useful service to America, and for the advancement of all its races." Indeed, the difficulty which confronts the Association is not in finding work to do, but in knowing what to pick and choose with due regard to its means, and where first to apply the Association's energies. But this difficulty of choice has not confronted it in the matter of urging a civic headquarters for Negro organizations in New York City, in which matter it is cooperating with the local association with excellent chances of obtaining practical results at an early date; nor has it prevented the outlining of the policies already described.

How rapidly these shall be pressed home to the conscience of the people rests primarily with the members of this Association and the means placed at its disposal.

VIOLATIONS OF PROPERTY RIGHTS.

By W. E. Burghardt DuBois, Director of Publicity and Research.

FEW people who argue about the race problem know how that problem changes. Within the last twenty years this change has been so great that many fail to realize it, or if they do realize it more or less vaguely, they are puzzled at its new outcroppings. It seems to them as though this human difficulty was continually developing new and unexpected centers of trouble. As a matter of fact, however, what we have to-day might easily have been foreseen twenty years ago. We are having a change in the problem, but the change is logical and represents a more or less regular development.

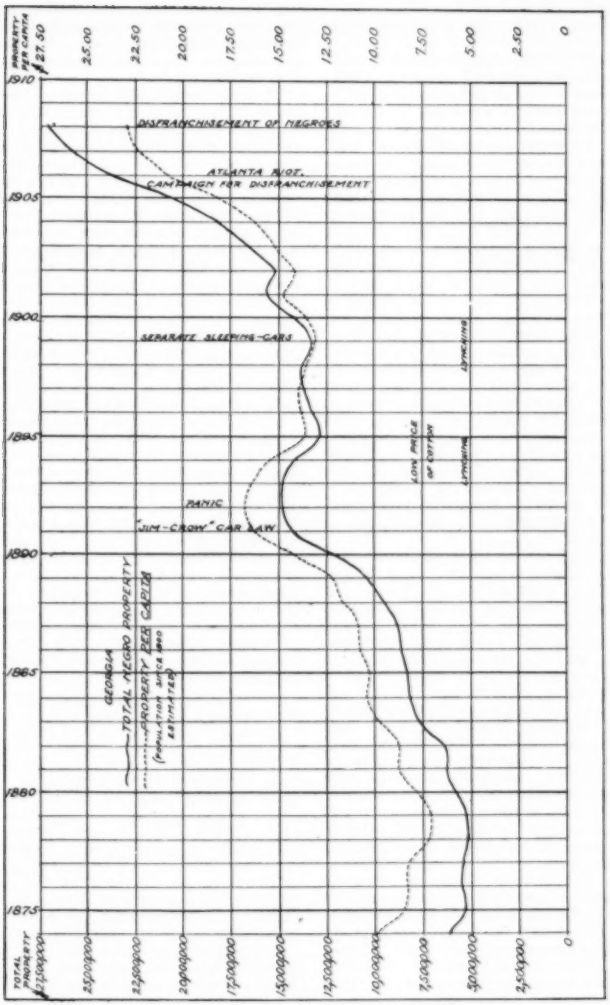
To illustrate this let us remember what the argument against the Negro was in slavery days. It was said that he was an indolent tropical being who would not work without being driven and that it was utterly impossible that he should become a self-directing worker and work with initiative and a decent standard of life, and that if he were allowed to go free he would become a pauper or criminal, and very soon be extinct. This argument was thoroughly believed in by the mass of the best Southern people, and it undoubtedly did much to hold their hands back from all schemes of emancipation.

After the war the South and its friends hastened to point out that exactly what they foretold was happening. Their accusation against the Negro race was inborn laziness, and most superficial students of the Negro problem have seen what they think is ocular evidence of this laziness; the loafing about depots of Southern railway stations, the unreliability of Negro help, etc. So that from emancipation for a period of perhaps ten or twenty years the argument against the Negro in this country took this form: The Negro is lazy and is relapsing into barbarism, the young folks born during and since slavery are utterly worthless, and the better slaves of the old régime are going to disappear.

There was some truth in these assertions, but friends of the black man pointed out that a sudden revolution had taken place in the economic and social relations of these men; that they had been taught laziness both by the tropical climate of their forefathers' home and by slavery, and that the only real present dangers were the hindrances which race prejudice was putting in their way. Gradually in the last fifteen or twenty years an answer to this argument was evolved. It was frankly admitted that there was prejudice and intense prejudice in social relations, but that this prejudice had absolutely nothing to do with the Negro as a workingman, and that consequently the argument of prejudice was outside of the question; that it was simply a matter of laziness and was to be cured by thrift. The Negro people were told, therefore, to work hard and regularly, and save their money.

In this later argument, again, there was a tremendous amount of truth. Certainly the first thing that a freedman must learn is regular habits and labor. He has been taught by slavery that labor is a badge of serfdom. He must teach himself that labor is a necessity of life. Moreover, under the slave régime money was an infrequent commodity which was immediately to be spent; while under the responsibilities of a free labor system it must be accumulated in small lots and very carefully guarded and saved.

While, however, this argument was strong and an argument that ought to have been made, it was not the argument that should have utterly displaced the insistence upon the evil of race prejudice. It was not too much to have asked intelligent people to foresee that race prejudice in the United States was going to hinder Negroes in getting work, and keep down their wages, and make it difficult for them to develop habits of thrift and to save. While on the one hand it was necessary, and imperatively necessary, that work and thrift should be insisted upon so far as Negroes were concerned, just as careful and widespread a campaign should have been carried on to see that the way before the faltering feet of the freedman was clear of hurtful and deadening prejudice. This necessity was not only not attended to but was even forgotten. The public have in later years come to be impatient of hearing about prejudice. They call it dwelling on the unpleasant side. They ask social students



Assessed Value of Colored Property in Georgia. (From Atlanta Univ. Pub. No. 14)

and observers to be optimistic and to dwell simply upon the shortcomings of the Negroes.

What has been the result of this policy? In the first place so far as the Negroes are concerned there can be no doubt that their energies have more and more been given to work and thrift, and despite all the testimonies of car-window sociologists there is absolutely undisputed evidence that the Negro has accumulated property. Full statistics unfortunately do not exist to prove this assertion; so far as crime is concerned we can get statistics of Negroes in practically every State, county and city in the United States, but when it comes to property there are only available figures in three

States, and only in one State have these figures gone back for a considerable period.

The State of Georgia, beginning with 1874, has kept a careful account of the assessed value of the property owned by its Negro citizens. I have put on a chart the way in which that property has increased. It began at $6,000,000 in 1874, and did not increase for about six years, owing to the reconstruction troubles in this State. Then as gradually law and order were restored the accumulations began to go up, and once started they went very rapidly until they reached the culminating point in 1893. At that time the Negroes of Georgia were paying taxes on $14,000,000 worth of property. Then there came a check. First the panic of 1892, then a series of Jim Crow laws, four-cent cotton, and the epidemic of lynching. The result was that for five years the accumulations decreased or wavered. Then they took a new forward movement with the new century and went up rapidly until to-day the Negroes of Georgia pay taxes on about $30,000,000 worth of property. Moreover, as the assessments of property in Georgia are low, it is probable that this represents between $50,000,000 and $60,000,000 of actual value.

I have also tried to indicate on the chart the increase per capita of Negro property by a dotted line, and I have put down the Atlanta riot and the campaign for disfranchisement to indicate to you what is very clear in my mind, that this campaign was carried on chiefly because the Negroes were getting on too well.

Other States have made similar advancement, although there are fewer data. In Virginia, for instance, in 1891 Negroes paid taxes on $12,000,000 worth of property; in 1908 they paid taxes on $25,500,000. In North Carolina in 1900 Negroes paid taxes on nine and a third million dollars' worth of property; in 1909 they paid taxes on $21,000,000 worth. Taking these three States together and considering simply the years 1900 to 1908 we find that in Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina colored people owned in 1900 $40,000,000 worth of taxable property, and in 1908 it had increased to $74,000,000, or an increase of 87 1/3 per cent.

Not only this, but the census of 1900 made an attempt to get some figures of the ownership of property by Negroes as a whole. They found that the Negroes, both as owners and tenants, operated 750,000 farms, containing 60,000 square miles, and that the total value of the property thus under Negro control was $500,000,000, with annual products to the amount of $256,000,000. Of these 750,000 farms one-fourth were owned by colored people, and the number of owners increased nearly 60 per cent. between 1890 and 1900, and there is every reason to believe that between 1900 and 1910 the increase has been far more than 60 per cent., and that to-day Negroes own somewhere near one-third of the farms which they operate.

Taking the 200,000 farms of the Negro owners we find that they had in 1900 nearly 15,000,000 acres of land, which was worth $180,000,000, and raised $60,000,000 worth of products. All Negro farm property was estimated by the census to be worth about $230,000,000 ten years ago. The American Economic Association took up the subject, and concluded that the total property of the Negro race in 1900 was $300,000,000. If, however, the property has increased in the last ten years throughout the land in the same ratio as in Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia, then it would be fair to infer that the property of the Negroes in the United States should be assessed at $600,000,000.

Compared with the wealth of the United States these figures are small, but considered in the light of the fact that they represent the savings of a race that began practically without capital a generation ago, they are simply astounding. But what I want to point out to-day is that this accumulation has been made in the face of discouragements and violations of property rights such as no other class of Americans ever met. In the first place we must remember that it is the despised second generation since slavery that has made these accumulations and that these people have saved their money in the face of the following impediments:

1. The lack of facilities for saving, and deliberate cheating.
2. The hostility of local municipal policy.
3. Discrimination in wages.
4. Mob violence.
5. Legal violence.

I want to take up each one of these in turn.

First, as to the lack of facilities for saving. Few people realize how difficult it is in the South for the poor man to save who wants to. Usually in the country districts there are but two methods open to him: To hoard his money or to hand it over to some white friend. There have been numberless cases where such white friends and patrons have taken care of the money of their Negro clients and acted as bankers, with the result that the colored man has been able to keep his savings secure and to accumulate. However, in an unfortunately large number of other cases the colored man has been cheated. Sometimes the patron has died suddenly and the client has been able to get no accounting from the heirs. This was peculiarly the case in regard to the property which free Negroes and

favorite slaves accumulated before the war. In other cases the client has died and his heirs have been deliberately cheated by the patron. This has often been defended: Here is an old and favorite colored man whose property is kept by a white man. So long as he lives the property is safe in the white man's hands. If he dies the white man decides that the children ought not have the property or do not deserve it, and takes it for his own purposes. In still other cases there is a deliberate attempt to cheat the client by false accounts or other devices. It is of course impossible to present figures to show the extent of this practice, but I have never been in a community in the South where the number of cases of deliberate cheating that could be pointed out was not simply appalling in frequency. I have great hopes in this respect of the Postal Savings Banks if the government will be careful not to put them all in the cities where they are not needed, but in the back country districts of the South.

Second, the hostility of municipal policy. Much has been said about the discrimination against Negroes by the State, and that in the South is large, but the real oppression in every-day life comes in the municipalities. The courts, for instance, are undoubtedly prejudiced against black men, but nevertheless it is possible in the higher State courts often to get substantial justice if the man has the money to take the case up. The legislatures are vicious in their attacks on Negro rights, but their doings are open to the public inspection of the whole United States, and must be somewhat curbed by law and public opinion. On the other hand, the action of the petty town, county and city governments is largely unnoticed and is often prejudiced and unfair to a degree almost unbelievable to those who do not know the facts. If, for instance, you go to an ordinary Southern town you are shown the Negro districts; the streets are unpaved; sidewalks are in a dilapidated condition; the drainage is bad; the garbage is not cared for, and the houses are dilapidated. Now, without doubt, part of this condition can be charged to the colored dwellers, but much of it is due to the deliberate refusal of the city to spend any public money on city improvements in the Negro district or to properly police this district. The Negro district is consequently not only without decent accommodations so far as the city is concerned, but it is at the mercy of the vicious, both of its own race and among the white race. There is scarcely a city in the South where the tenderloin district has not been deliberately placed in the Negro quarter and kept there despite the protest of the better class of Negroes. All this hurts Negro property and makes the investment of Negroes in property difficult. Moreover, the same thing that happens so often in the North is accentuated is this case, i. e., the small householder pays a disproportionately large share of the taxes as compared with the large householder or capitalist. The burden of taxation in Southern cities is shifted upon the small Negro property owner to an extent which is astounding. All this discourages accumulation and particularly discourages investment.

Moreover, the gross and glaring injustice to Negroes in the lower courts makes it difficult and often impossible to defend their property rights. The magistrates and judges are usually elected for short terms, often on an anti-Negro platform, and are bitter and openly unfair.

Third, wage discrimination. It is the deliberate policy of the South to pay Negroes less wages for the same work than they would pay white people, just as is the case in the North where they pay women less wages for the same work than they pay men. The argument in the South is that the Negro has a lower standard of life, and therefore does not need as much money. The discrimination varies from 25 to 50 per cent. This makes it more difficult for Negroes to save money, because, as a matter of fact, while their standard of living is lower than that of the average white person, it is rapidly rising, and the demand upon their meagre income for better housing, better food and better clothing is such that the margin for saving is very small or entirely disappears.

Fourth, mob violence. Of all the hindrances enumerated—lack of facilities for saving, hostility of municipal policy and wage discrimination—none are such detriments to saving in the South as the fear of mob violence. It is hard to realize in a law-abiding community how the fear of physical violence broods in the air in the South. No Negro can feel himself safe from it. He cannot invest in property without taking it into account. In some cases it is impossible to get his property insured for this very reason, and almost always when for any reason there is an outbreak of great violence in the South, it is the Negro property holder who actually pays the bill. The result is that continually men who might otherwise invest in property refrain from doing this, and other colored men who invest do so with the idea of removing to the North just as soon as they get large enough investments. The feeling of insecurity against the jealousy and viciousness of certain Southern elements is daily in their minds. It is this feeling, too, that drives the Negro into the cities; there his property gets greater police protection because it cannot be destroyed without in some degree injur-

ing the property of white owners or injuring the general credit of the community.

Finally, this kind of mob violence has gone so far that we are seeing attempts to-day to translate it into legal violence. Just as the cheating of the Negro out of his vote was done by extra legal methods at first, and now is done by methods called legal, so the cheating of Negroes out of their property rights is now about to be translated into some semblance of legal form. The whole question of segregation in property is coming up at a later session, and therefore does not fall within the province of this paper; but I wish to point out that segregation is the violating of property rights, and that it is as futile an attempt to solve the Negro problem as any of the previous subterfuges have been.

In the time of slavery we had the subterfuge of colonization to tempt the conscientious mind; in the time of reconstruction we had the subterfuge of threatened Negro domination to blind those who ought to have seen; in the days since Reconstruction we have had the subterfuge of industrial inefficiency to make people forget race prejudice. To-day the world, north and south, is being asked to believe that the crux of the Negro problem lies in keeping black men from buying property on your street. All through this history of subterfuge and evasion has run the great and dominating fact of a racial prejudice which denies the application of the ethics of Jesus Christ in the relations of men if these men happen to be of a different race. It is the object of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to impress the fact upon the American people that the foundation difficulty of the race problem is this despicable race prejudice, and that unless we attack this central difficulty we never shall settle this problem. Moreover, we insist that this problem must be settled and settled right, because it is but a part of a greater problem which is as wide as the world.

Little Letters from the South

[The following letters have been received by Mr. Villard in answer to the press reports of his Boston speech.]

Newberry, Fla., 4/1, 1911.

Dear Sir:

Replying to your statement inclosed will say the reason the libraries in the Southern States are closed to the low down negro eyes is because he is not worthy of an education.

All the mean crimes, that are done are committed by some educated negro and furthermore, can you tell me what a negro is? If you can you can do more than any one else for I have been dealing with negroes for the last fifteen years and the only thing I can tell that he is a negro and always will be as far as I have any power.

I would like for you to tell me where the negro first originated. If you will look in the bible it will tell you that he first originated from an animal. And we Southern people dont care to equal ourselves with animals.

The people of the South dont think any more of killing the black fellows than you would think of killing a flea.

So you have my opinion of Mr. Negro and if I was to live 1,000 years that would be my opinion and every other Southern man.

Hoping you will understand what a negro is by this letter and resign you position. Wm. Cowart.

Orangeburg, S. C., 4/5/11.

Mr. Editor:

Gee! Just as long as you are in charge of the negroes' well fare the people need not fear, for you will do no harm, for you know too little of his curious nature to even understand him. You are laboring under the delusion that the negro is a being of human instincts. The idea of a negro leaving to go North to consult medical men! You could not teach him how to take the medicine after he got it, and besides, pills and salts complete his idea of medicines and nothing else would appeal to him as *nice red pills*. You know that as far as any negro having to go north for treatment not even a white man has that to do. There are a few physicians in the South still on the job. You devote your time to something in your line and let Southern brain adjust race matters.

Respectfully yours,

J. A. Clifton, M.D.

P.S.—I am glad to see that a son of Lincoln (who was a son of Calhoun of S. C.) has learned something about Negroes—the idea of a negro woman getting into a pullman car! Put her in the tender with the coal and give the fireman a chance! J. A. C.

The Fight for Liberty in St. Lucia

By ARTHUR A. SCHOMBURG

MUCH has been told of Haiti's fight for liberty under the inspiration of the doctrines of the French revolution, but little is known of the desperate struggle that took place about the same time in the island of St. Lucia. Unlike that in Haiti, it failed against superior numbers, though not before England had lost many men. To put down the blacks several years' time was necessary, and a number of distinguished soldiers were called into action, among them the famous Sir John Moore.

The French, at the beginning of the revolution in 1789, had proclaimed as their cardinal doctrines Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. The legislative assembly of March, 1792, had passed a bill according to free colored persons all the political rights held by white men, and confirming various earlier attempts along the same line.

When the news of the legislature's action reached St. Lucia it created no end of turbulent discussion. To the whites it was a severe blow; to the slaves it was a star of hope, and to the free colored people, of whom, says Bryan Edwards, there were at that time 1,896, it seemed a sort of Magna Charta of Negro rights in the West Indies.

The pronouncements of the French revolution and the enthusiasm they created in the West Indies excited the dismay of England. Such doctrine should obviously not be allowed to spread, and she sent out an expedition of 100 transports with troops and stores and a strong convoy of men-of-war to the islands. Their purpose was announced as being to overcome the "pseudo-philosophic decree of the National Assembly of France . . . of the popular doctrine of Equality and the 'Rights of Man.'" In the diary of Sir John Moore I find that "the expedition on which Moore was now to be employed, under Sir Ralph Abercombrie, was designed for the reconquest of the West India Islands, partly from the French, but mainly from the insurgent Negroes, whom they had armed and made enthusiastic in their cause by the proclamation of universal and immediate emancipation." It was to prevent the Negroes from exercising any political "coup d'etat" and becoming a factor to be dealt with in the future.

The island of St. Lucia, toward which the expedition of Sir Ralph Abercrombie was directed, is one of the most charming spots in the tropics. It has the beautiful and safe harbor of Castries, the principal town, around which the hills rise, called mornes by the St. Lucians. When Abercrombie reached Castries he had with him 12,000 troops and the support of a naval squadron. It had been agreed to surprise the islanders by a moonlight attack and every detail had been worked out to a nicety.

French engineers, with the assistance of two thousand well-disciplined Negro soldiers, together with a number of useful blacks and some whites under Goyrand, had skilfully fortified the mornes from a place called Grosilet to Castries, and had crowned the earthworks with the memorable citadel Morne Fortunee, destined to become a synonym for tenacity and gallantry.

Abercrombie landed some five thousand soldiers in three divisions and stormed the forts. The destruction was great. Again and again the attacking troops were sent over the wounded and dying bodies of their comrades in a determined attempt to carry the position. At length two of the smaller forts weakened and fell. The navy was busy meanwhile bombarding the battery which guarded the entrance to the harbor.

At the Vigie Fort, an outpost of Morne Fortunee, Abercrombie attacked the position held by some 200 men, and carried it after much bloodshed and the loss of over 200 killed. It was no sooner occupied than the guns from the upper fort belched forth shower after shower of grape shot that "threw the troops into confusion and they took to flight."

Additional troops had now arrived from the other islands and they were landed; it was decided to rush the earthworks and assault the Morne Fortunee, which stood on a hill 800 feet on the south side of Castries, commanding a magnificent view of the surrounding country and the sea.

The attack on the main line of defense called for the sublimest expression of courage and valor on both sides. As the bugle sounded to charge they entered the battleground unmindful of death; on one side the honor of England was at stake; on the other side the Negroes were fighting for their birthright, their heritage, their liberty.

At length the citadel capitulated, for resistance was useless. But the Negroes remained inflexible, and not believing

that the English came with good intentions, they took to the woods. Major-General John Moore was called upon to take possession of the vanquished forces. "On May 26, 1796, two thousand men, chiefly Negroes and men of color, laid down their arms, and marched out prisoners of war. It took 11,000 men over a month to take Morne Fortunee, and it is impossible to mention the island without lamenting that it has proved in every war a grave to thousands of brave men" (B. Edwards). The historian Breen states "never were these advantages turned to a more melancholy account than on this occasion by the Negroes of St. Lucia."

General Moore was dejected when he was informed of the boldness of the Negroes who had taken to the woods. In a letter to his superior officer he said: "I am involved in a most disagreeable scene, a considerable number of the Negroes are in the woods in arms." Seeing it was impossible to overcome their daring and stubborn persistency to harass his outposts, he again wrote Gen. Abercrombie: "The Negroes in the island are to a man attached to the French cause; neither hanging, threats or money would obtain for me any intelligence from them. If the island is a desirable acquisition an immediate stop must be put to the present troubles by sending a body of 800 or 1,000 blacks (soldiers) to scour the woods, whilst the British, whom I find from experience incapable of acting in the interior, occupy positions on the coast." (Sir John Moore's Diary.)

Charles Kingsley has vividly described the events which followed: "Those glens and forests of St. Lucia, over them and through them," he writes, "Sir John Moore and Sir Ralph Abercrombie fought, week after week, month after month, not merely against French soldiers, but against worse enemies, 'brigands,' as the poor fellows were called—Negroes liberated by the Revolution of 1792. With their heads full (and who can blame them?) of the 'Rights of Man' and the democratic teachings of that valiant and able friend of Robespierre, Victor Hugues, they had destroyed their masters, man, woman and child, horribly enough, and then helped to drive out of the island the invading English, who were already half destroyed, not with fighting, but with fever.

"The poor black fellows, who only knew that they were free and intended to remain free, took to the bush, and fed on the wild cush-cush roots and the plunder of the plantations, man hunting, murdering French and English alike, and being put to death on return whenever caught. Gentle Abercrombie could not coax them into peace; stern Moore could not shoot and hang them into it, and the 'brigand' war dragged hideously on till Moore, who was nearly caught by them in a six-oared boat off the Pitons, had to row for life to St. Vincent, so saving himself for the glory of the Corunna—was all but dead of fever, and Col. James Drummond had to carry on the miserable work till the whole 'Armee Francais dans les bois' laid down their rusty muskets on the one condition that free they had been, and free they should remain. So they were formed into an English regiment and sent to fight on the coast of Africa, and in more senses than one 'went to their own place.'"

My Little Love Salome

By L. A. PROCTOR

[The writer of the following verses is a colored man employed as janitor by the Commoner and Glassworker, of Pittsburg. The poem first appeared in that magazine. We are glad to reproduce it here because of its remarkable sweetness of cadence, and we urge Mr. Proctor to persist in his work. He has undoubted talent.]

I have wander'd late and early to the spot I love so dearly,
Where the scent of honeysuckle mingles with the tender rose.
There the incense sweet and holy sheathing me, I dreaming only
While a subtle spell fast held me as the mist above me posed.
A sweet fragrance as of clover all around me seem'd to hover,
While a secret power charmed me and my senses idly roam'd,
Then a magic something shower'd and a halo 'round me flowered
While I courted fancy notions of my little love Salome.

I have faced from climates warmer, white and dusky wily charmers,
And I've watched their flirting eyelash and their actions blithe or shy
But withal their fetching manner did not charm me nor enamor,
I saw nothing in their graces that was pleasing to my eye.
But the rose to me so sweetly cooing, loving so discreetly,
Sends a summons of devotion ev'ry place that I may roam,
For she is a gem completely, clad in robes precise and neatly,
And the bond of love is lasting between me and sweet Salome.

The Manufacture of Prejudice

Three American Fairy Tales from the Associated Press

PART I.—THE SOLDIERS.

Chapter I.—April 3.

"The Negro troops now stationed at San Antonio are to be withdrawn, according to an announcement made to-day by Representative Garner, of Texas, following a conference with President Taft at the White House. Representative Garner protested against the presence of the Negro soldiers at San Antonio, declaring that they had been the cause of a good deal of trouble in the Texas city."

Chapter II.—April 4.

"The order to move the Ninth out of San Antonio came from the War Department to-night."

Chapter III.—April 4.

(Telegram.)

"PRESIDENT TAFT,
"White House,
"Washington, D. C.

"According to press accounts you are planning to punish Ninth Cavalry for protesting against Jim Crow street-car regulations, and favor having power to disband colored regiments. This Association countenances no breach of discipline; but respectfully submits that if the men are lawless it is because the officers paid to enforce discipline fail to do their duty. It would respectfully remind you of this regiment's magnificent service at Pine Ridge in 1891 and Santiago in 1898, and earnestly urges that if punishment is necessary you couple action with reprobation of that odious regulation which discriminates against United States soldiers because of their color. If lawlessness were ever justifiable these men would be entitled to credit for declining to be discriminated against and set apart from their brother soldiers wearing the same uniform in the same service of their country because of an accident of birth.
"NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.
"By Oswald Garrison Villard,
"Chairman of the Executive Committee."

Chapter IV.—April 6.

"It was authoritatively stated at the White House to-day that the Ninth Cavalry, colored, which is to be transferred from San Antonio because of complaints there, will not be sent to Brownsville, where the famous 'Brownsville incident' originated when the Twenty-fifth Infantry, colored, was stationed there."

Chapter V.—April 7.

"The War Department has issued three different sets of orders in the last forty-eight hours in regard to the movement from San Antonio of the Ninth Cavalry. The final decision at the close of to-day was to keep the regiment where it now is, at San Antonio. At first it was the President's intention to send the regiment to the Mexican boundary to the west of San Antonio, but the orders, as finally arranged at the War Department, disposed the colored troops in detachments along the boundary in Congressman Garner's district, at Brownsville, Laredo, Del Rio, Presidio Del Norte, Hancock, Minera and other points.

"This aroused protests from all the towns concerned, and Representative Garner received telegrams from a score of mayors and many prominent citizens saying that they did not want the colored troops there and were fearful of the consequences if they came."

Chapter VI.—April 8.

"Further reports bearing on the conduct of the Ninth Cavalry Negro brigade at San Antonio were to-day received at the War Department. They bear out previous reports that the Negroes were unjustly accused of general disorder in the city.

"W. D. Cuttle, vice-president and general manager of the street-car lines of San Antonio, and Mayor Bryan Callaghan, of San Antonio, say the conduct of the Negro troopers has been good."

Chapter VII.

A letter from Texas says: "Yes, the Ninth has caused quite a stir here, not so much of hostile demonstration as of admiration and personal commendation, particularly by the whites. Of course, the colored people have outdone themselves with evidences of regard—and affection; for many serious courtships have gone the rounds in the substratum of society and some few among the pretentious.

The soldiers refused to ride behind the 'Jim Crow' signs in the street cars and threw the signs out of the windows whenever they got on the cars. It seems, and in fact they did, beat up a conductor on one of the cars for offering a modest suggestion of order. Otherwise they have been good and enjoy the freedom of the city just as other soldiers do. When it comes to guard mount and other drills they get the lion's share of attention, and the colored citizen has to go early in order to get standing room. The blacks bear themselves with dignity and appear to be a splendid body of men. Capt. Young (a colored officer) is a fine fellow and has made a warm place among all classes; the white officers go out of their way to show him every attention. The Ninth band is the best in the division, and their camp is overrun with visitors every day, particularly at evening. Sarah Bernhardt visited the Ninth only Sunday in company with the ranking general of the division and asked the Ninth to play the 'Marseillaise' and the American national hymns. The noise about the presence of the Ninth is all on paper and caused by the cheapest demagogue in the national Congress, John Garner. Such men have not yet learned that they can't win high place by abuse of the colored man alone. The fact is they have no statesmanship or convolutions in the brains, and hope to win distinction through abuse of the colored man. The Ninth is tranquil and at peace, and is in all things the pride of the camp—except color."

PART II.—THE MODEST MODEL.

Chapter I.—The First Lie.

REFUSES TO POSE FOR NEGRO

Young Woman Declines to Appear Undraped Before Him.

ART CLASS SUPPORTS HER.

Colored Student Compelled to Withdraw Before Work Proceeds.

"Race prejudice, which had manifested itself only in whispers or in comments outside of the classroom at the Art Institute, took a new direction last night, when a young woman model for a life class refused to pose undraped until a colored student of the institute left the room.

"For a moment the class was in disorder, but after some protest the Negro, finding himself unsupported by any of his fellow pupils, walked out of the room. Not until then did the model assume her position on the stand and begin her pose."—Chicago Tribune, March 28, 1911.

Chapter II.—The Second Lie.

UPHOLDS MODEL'S COLOR LINE

Officers of Chicago Institute Will Not Discipline Girl Who Refused to Pose Undraped Before Negro.

"Officers of the Art Institute of Chicago will take no notice of the refusal of Miss Mamie Blanha, a white model, to pose undraped before a life class of young men, one member of which is a Negro. It is taken as the prerogative of a model to use her own judgment regarding the identity of those before whom she is willing to pose without drapery."

Chapter III.—The Truth.

April 4, 1911.

"There has been much comment in the press upon a recent incident in the Art Institute School. The following is a statement of the facts: There have always been a few colored students in the school, perhaps four or five in a total attendance of 1,500, who have received the same treatment in all respects as other students. The color question has never been raised.

"Upon Monday evening, March 27, 1911, several students in an evening class, one of them a colored man, finding their own classroom crowded at the opening of the session, went into another classroom. The model, before taking her pose, requested them to withdraw, on the ground that they were not members of the class. This is in accordance with the regulations of the school. They immediately left the room. This was all there was on the face of the incident, and it excited no attention at the time. There was no mention of Negroes, no applause, no sensational features. It appears, however, that a mischief-making student had privately suggested to the model that she ought not to pose for Negroes. The same student, contrary to all the ethics of the life classes, obtained from the model her name and address, under the pretense of wishing to engage her services as a model himself. He then, the same night, gave the matter to the Associated Press, in the erroneous and high-colored form in which it appeared.

"There was no Negro in the classes in which the model was posing, and she has not been dismissed from our service, as reported in some of the papers. There

has been no occasion for any action with regard to her, or the colored students, but the student who so violated the usages of the school and who has been guilty of other disorderly conduct, has been excluded from the classes.

"W. M. R. FRENCH, Director.
"N. H. CARPENTER, Secretary."

PART III.—THE LAUREL MOB.

Chapter I.—The Lie.

ARMED NEGROES FIRE ON WHITES

One Man Dead and Three Hurt in Race Riot.

BATTLE IN CITY STREETS

Lights Put Out in Laurel, Delaware, While Blacks Continue Their Attack.

"Seaford, Del., April 2.—The frequent disorders and uprisings which have prevailed among the Laurel colored inhabitants for the last two months resulted in a fierce outbreak last night, when, without an instant's warning, a mob of armed Negroes swooped down upon a crowd of spectators who were standing in a public thoroughfare, and fired a volley of bullets and buckshot into the crowd. One man fell mortally hurt and others were wounded. Then followed a fierce struggle between the two races, and before the colored crowd was routed more than 1,500 shots had been fired."—N. Y. Press, April 3.

Chapter II.—The Truth.

The N. A. A. C. P. sent a special investigator, Mr. Harold Phelps Stokes, to the spot. His report begins:

"Some of the 'facts' given in the first paragraph deserve notice. The 'mob of armed Negroes' consisted of three men, one white. The innocent 'crowd of spectators' was composed of the worst white roughs in town, all armed and ready for a fight. The 'volley of bullets and buckshot' consisted of three shots. George Hudson, the man fatally injured by this attack, was actually shot some time later by a white boy."

Chapter III.—The Confession.

"The riot and disorder at Laurel last Saturday night was the result of political disappointment at the well-laid plans to get Republicans into trouble through corrupt swearing on the part of disreputable tools against men of probity and substance. The man killed was one of the worst characters in the lower class of Laurel, which reflected the inflamed opinions of those who are supposed to be higher up. The Negroes were not the instigators of the trouble; it all grew out of the drunken orgies of a low class which the town government of Laurel has permitted to disgrace her streets, and by such condonement finally brought about murder and riot. It is time for the people of all communities, and especially Laurel, to strike with a strong fist the disorderly element, even if that class have to be shot down on sight to enforce the laws."—Milford (Del.) Chronicle.

"As reporter and staff official, I have had occasion to examine a score of so-called 'race riots' down in Delaware. In *every case* the Negroes were not the aggressors."—Charles E. Gray, a white Delaware reporter.

WHAT TO READ

BOOKS.

"Abraham Lincoln, by Some Men Who Knew Him; Being Personal Recollections of Judge Owen T. Reeves, Hon. J. S. Ewing, Col. R. P. Morgan, Judge Franklin Blades and J. W. Bunn, with Introduction by Hon. I. N. Phillips." Bloomington (Ill.) Pantagraph Company.

Bigelow, Melville M.—"False Equation." Little.

"A discussion of the departure of the State from the great trust charged upon it in regard to equality, and suggestions for a remedy."

Bloomfield, Meyer—"The Vocational Guidance of Youth." Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

Brown, William Adams—"Morris K. Jesup; a Character Sketch." Scribner.

The Outlook says of this book that

it portrays "a large-minded, large-hearted man, with a noble ambition to make his life helpful to his fellow men and his country."

Byington, Margaret F.—"Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town." Charities Publication Committee.

Carleton, William (Pseud.)—"One Way Out: a Middle-class New Englander Emigrates to America." Small.

Ford, Henry Jones—"Cost of Our National Government: a Study in Political Pathology." Lemcke.

Lukach, Harry C.—"A Bibliography of Sierra Leone, with an Introductory Essay on the Origin, Character and Peoples of the Colony." Oxford University.

National Society for the Study of Education Publications—"The City School as a Community Center." "The Rural School as a Community Center." Chicago University.

Schauffler, Robert Haven (Editor)—"Memorial Day (Decoration Day); Its Celebration, Spirit and Significance as Related in Prose and Verse, with a Non-sectional Anthology of the Civil War." Moffat, Yard & Company.

Theal, George McCall—"The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa South of the Zambesi." London: Swan Sonnenschein.

PERIODICALS.

"The Protection of Our 'Infant Industry.'" Harry Albert Austin, Forum, April.

"Durham—City of Negro Enterprises." Booker T. Washington. Independent, March 30.

"How Mrs. Stowe Wrote 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.'" Charles Edward Stowe and Lyman Beecher Stowe. McClure's, April.

"Prisoners of War: a Soldier's Narrative of Life at Libby and Danville Prisons." George Haven Putnam. Outlook, March 25.

"The West in the East, from an American Point of View: From Mughal to Briton." Price Collier. Scribner's, April.

"The British West Indian Negro: Historical Survey." First Paper. Southern Workman, April.

"Race and Color Prejudice." Hilda M. Howsin. The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review, April.

"Observations on Negro Colleges." Booker T. Washington. World's Work, April.

"Half Time at School and Half Time at Work." Frank Parker Stockbridge. World's Work, April.

"The Boy of To-morrow: What the School Will Do for Him." Arthur D. Dean. World's Work, April.

RACE AND COLOR PREJUDICE.

This article which appears in The Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review for April was first read by the author, Miss Hilda M. Howsin, at a meeting of the East India Association, held in London, January 30, 1911. Miss Howsin is herself a member of the association. The article shows unusual sympathy with the peoples who are made to suffer because they happen not to be white, and we quote a few of its wise and sane statements:

"May it not be that in this deep-seated race and color prejudice we have one of Nature's devices to protect the special qualities severally evolved by the various races and nations? . . . For if you have in a too early stage, before individuality is established, that which is desirable and necessary for future progress—viz., a sympathetic appreciation of and adaptation to another's characteristics—the result is a nebulous mass of conflicting qualities, a mongrel, irresolute form, with probably the evil accentuated. Racial prejudice, then, may serve as a protective shield in the immature stages of national evolution; but, on the other hand, directly the individuality is well rooted in a nation, it becomes no longer a support, but a fetter, and if not cast aside stultifies and paralyzes the expanding life by cutting it off from all those stimulating, maturing, modifying and corrective influences which are essential for its perfecting, and which it can obtain only by sympathetic contact with the culture, philosophy and polity of other nations. . . . Another point to which I would draw attention is the relation of race prejudice to patriotism. Patriotism is the unselfish love of one's own country; if pure and healthy, it naturally grows into the deeper and diviner love for all nations—it becomes worldwide and international. But, like other manifestations of life, it is subject to disease. Race prejudice is the cancer of patriotism, converting one of the noblest national virtues into one of the most contemptible and demoralizing of passions. From these considerations it is clear that a nation which still suffers from this grave defect is thereby unfitted to govern another, since race prejudice means limitation, ignorance, blindness, in the very direction where the fullest understanding and sympathy are essential. . . . Mr. Nevinson tells us that an English lady said to him, 'To us in India a pro-native is simply a rank outsider.' We all of us know that this sentiment, degenerate, vulgar as it is, is so prevalent as to be almost typical. At that moment when it becomes really paramount the death knell of England as an imperial nation will be sounding. She will have proved her inability to respond to her environment."

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